VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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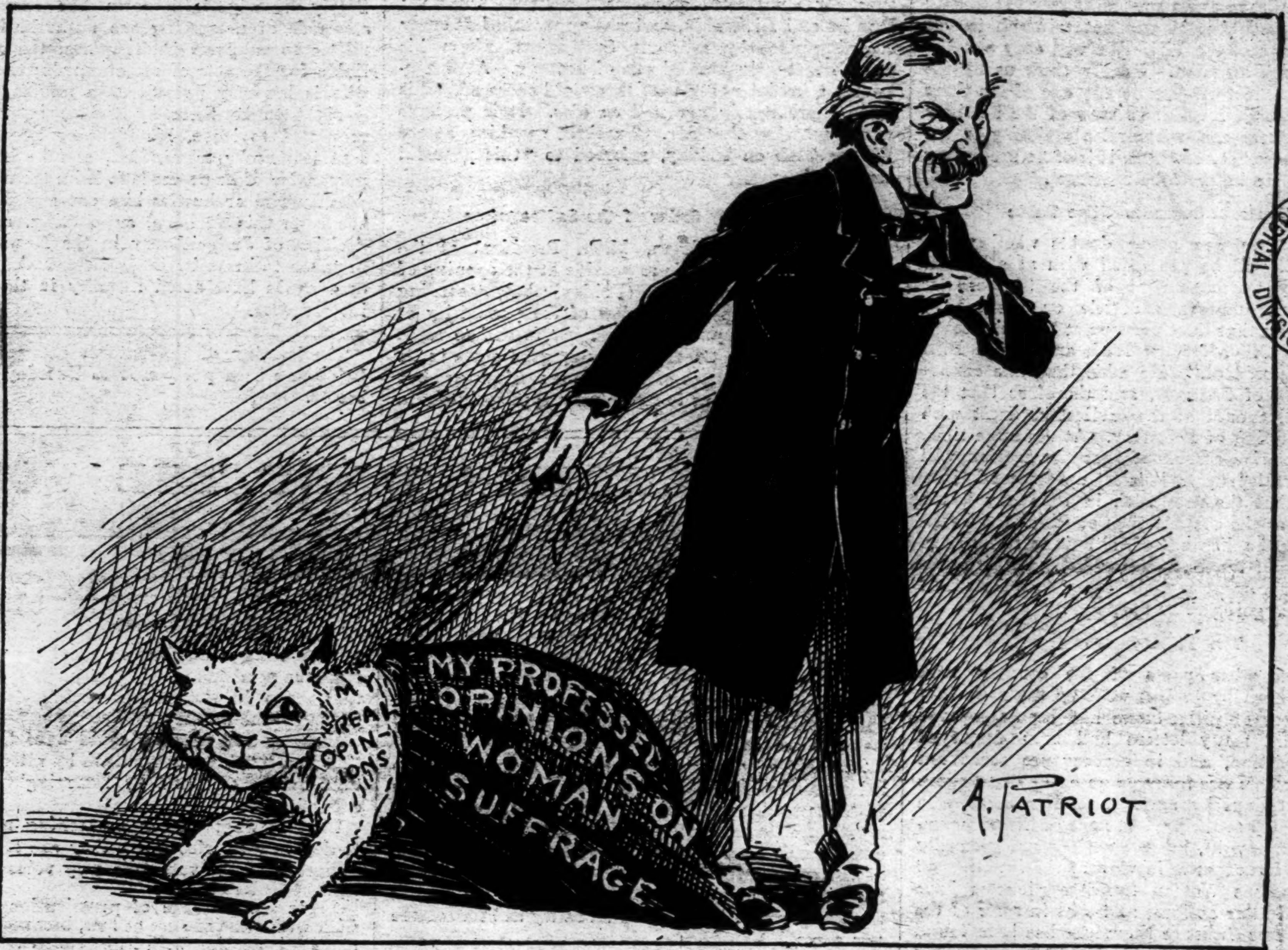
LETTING THE CAT OUT OF THE BAG


MY REAL OPINIONS
MY PROFESSED OPINIONS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE
A. PATRIOT

Speaking at Kirkcaldy, on the Bow and Bromley election, Mr. Lloyd George said, "The Tory candidate [who is an anti-Suffragist] was my candidate, and he won."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The most important political event of the week for Woman Suffragists is the speech of Mr. Lloyd George on Tuesday last to a deputation of the Women's Liberal Federation of Wales on the prospects of securing Votes for Women under the Government's Franchise Bill.

The Gist of the Speech

Mr. Lloyd George made three points. Firstly, the position was not so good as he had anticipated it would be a year ago; that was due to the "wild, mad work" of the militants, who had alienated their friends by their persecution of the Prime Minister and by their other misdeeds. Secondly, in spite of all provocations, he and his fellow Suffrage members of the Cabinet would vote for the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in the Franchise Bill. Thirdly, he urged upon his hearers the necessity of selecting one of the three principal Woman Suffrage amendments to the Bill and concentrating all their forces upon that; the one which he preferred himself was what is known as the Norwegian Amendment, and this was the only one which, in his opinion, had any chance of becoming law. The speech is given fully elsewhere (page 149).

Unpropitious Omens

We are not in the least surprised that Mr. Lloyd George is slowly coming to the conclusion that the "omens are not quite so propitious" as he professed to think them a year ago. We knew then, when Mr. Lloyd George "torpedoed the Conciliation Bill" by the promise of the introduction of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, that the "omens" were highly unpropitious; but it was not convenient to Mr. Lloyd George at that time to admit it. He professed then to think the prospects rosy; he now acknowledges them to be the reverse. What has happened in the meantime? Mr. Lloyd George says "militant methods"; but is it really militancy which has made the difference? Is it militancy which has converted the Irish Party into a solid hostile group? Is it militancy which has split up the advocates of Woman Suffrage in the House into three parties, one of which supports adult suffrage, another the Norwegian Amendment, and the third the Conciliation Bill proposals?

What is the Cause?

Mr. Lloyd George and every politician who faces facts knows that it is nothing of the kind. He knows that the attitude of the Irish is dictated solely by party exigency, that they will vote when the time comes not on the merits of Woman Suffrage, not on the merits of militancy, but solely with the object of retaining the Liberal Party in power; and that if they think that any Woman Suffrage amendment is likely to be carried they will vote against it, lest haply they should cause the resignation of Mr. Asquith and the break up of the Coalition. As to the divergent views upon the number of women who ought to be enfranchised at one stroke, Mr. Lloyd George knows quite well that these existed before militant methods were commenced, and that if militant methods were to cease to-morrow they would still exist precisely as they do to-day.

Divide et Impera

The craft and cunning of Mr. Lloyd George are only equalled by the sublimity of his "cheek" and the gullibility of the public. In face of Mr. Lloyd George's pious utterances it is really difficult for people to remember what Mr. Lloyd George actually did. He found the Suffrage forces outside the House united and at peace, the militant lion lying down with the constitutional lamb. He found the Suffrage forces inside the House concentrating on a simple proposal—the Conciliation Bill—on which an overwhelming majority of the House of Commons was agreed. He deliberately torpedoed this compromise, and substituted the Franchise Bill with its trio of divergent amendments. At the same time he struck a wedge between militant and constitutional Suffragists, and was the author of all the consequences which have followed. What a mockery it is that this wrecker poses as a Woman Suffragist, and that he has the audacity to urge upon us a unity which he has himself deliberately destroyed!

Sir John Simon

Another member of the Government in the person of Sir John Simon, the Solicitor-General, has also been speaking on the question of the Franchise Bill, and the "Parliamentary opportunity created by it." At the Woman Suffrage Conference on Wednesday he followed almost precisely the same line as Mr. Lloyd George, and said he saw no reason why, if the Woman Suffrage cause was effectively led during the next few weeks, it should not triumph in the Committee Stage of the Bill. We will only ask Sir John Simon one question. Can he show us by the elements of political arithmetic any one of the three Suffrage amendments which in view of the hostility of the Irish Party can command a majority in the House? If he cannot show this, it is of no use telling us that which we know to be incorrect.

The House of Commons Time Table

Meanwhile there are grave doubts whether the Franchise Bill will be proceeded with at all. The Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette*, in an important article on Wednesday afternoon, states that the Government "hope to carry the Franchise Bill after the Irish and Welsh Bills have been disposed of." He adds that this cannot be till the end of January, and therefore that the Franchise Bill cannot at the earliest be dealt with until the beginning of February. At the same time, he gives a positive assurance that the Session will not last on until "supply" is set up a second time. That means that the first week in February is the latest as well as the earliest time at which the Franchise Bill must be disposed of, if it is to fall within the provisions of the Parliament Act. Is this semi-official pronouncement a preliminary to a statement that the Bill is going to be dropped?

The Pillar-boxes

London and other parts of the country were startled on Thursday in last week by the news that a large number of pillar-boxes had been tampered with, and that many letters had been destroyed beyond recognition, and in consequence could not be delivered. This was followed on Friday and again on subsequent days by news of similar attacks in other places. Up to the present none of the perpetrators have been caught, but the actions are generally attributed to Suffragettes in view of the fact that on previous occasions Woman Suffrage pioneers have admitted to similar actions, and that in some of the present instances Suffrage literature has been found attached to bottles which have done the damage. Our comment upon this latest development of militancy will be found in the leading article (page 152).

Miss Gladys Evans

It is with the gravest concern that we learn of the serious condition of Miss Gladys Evans. She is told that if she goes beyond the police district of Dublin without giving notice to the police she will be instantly re-arrested; and our readers know, as well as the Government knows, that, as a released political offender, she will strenuously refuse to conform to the regulations applicable to a ticket-of-leave convict. It is not surprising that the strain of all she has gone through, coupled with a perpetual sense of being watched, is having a very grave effect upon her health; and she is further suffering terribly from insomnia. We have no words with which to condemn a Government that can stoop to the employment of such brutal methods in fighting a political opponent who, they know full well, will not yield even to save her life.

Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Lansbury

The true character of Mr. Lloyd George may perhaps be gathered from a remark which he let slip at Aberdeen. Speaking of the Bow and Bromley election, he said, "Blair was my candidate." That is to say, in this election, fought largely on Woman Suffrage, Mr. Lloyd George preferred the return of the Anti-Suffragist Conservative to the Suffragist Labour man. The excuse he gave for his choice, viz., that Mr. Lansbury was opposed to the Insurance Act, does not admit of examination, for it will be found that Blair was very nearly, if not quite, as denunciatory of it as his opponent. In addition to Mr. Lloyd George the Labour Party and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald have been dealing out criticism and abuse of Mr. Lansbury, to which a dignified rejoinder has been sent calling attention to the failure of the Labour Party to fulfil its mission in the House of Commons as an independent party.

Mr. Lloyd George in Scotland

The Chancellor of the Exchequer went to Aberdeen under the customary police escort, last Friday, and made the usual guarded speech in a guarded hall that we have now learnt to associate with the few public appearances of our Cabinet Ministers. Three women Suffragists, however, contrived to conceal themselves in the hall where the meeting took place; another broke the window of the car in which Mr. Lloyd George was believed to be driving; and a fifth struck with a whip someone whom she mistook for the Chancellor disguised as a Baptist minister, a not unnatural mistake, in view of Mr. George's past record in the matter of disguises. All were arrested and brought up at Aberdeen Police Court, and an account of the subsequent proceedings will be found on page 149. In spite of the most elaborate efforts to secure a dumb audience, several men uttered protests during the meeting against the exclusion of women from the franchise, and were ejected with violence. The Chancellor, having passed the night in a house patrolled by police, journeyed south via Dundee and Kirkcaldy, and was approached at every stopping-place by militant Suffragists, whom his guards instantly hustled out of hearing. At Stonehaven, a bridal party that threw old shoes after his train, were nearly arrested *en bloc*. It is perhaps worth noticing that Mr. Churchill, speaking at the Eighty Club on Friday, referred to "this peaceful country."

Muzzled! By Order of the Suffragettes

Mr. Walter Runciman, M.P., President of the Board of Agriculture, is to preside at the opening of the Kingsway Hall to-day (Friday); but, according to a morning paper, "in view of the possibility of Suffragist interruption, *he does not intend to make a speech*." Dumb Crambo is a very good game in its place, as the approach of Christmas reminds us; but it does not seem to us to figure very appropriately in the political répertoire of a Cabinet Minister when opening a hall in the interests of a Wesleyan Mission.

When is a Riot Not a Riot?

An important decision was given on Thursday in last week in a civil case between two insurance companies relating to the window-breaking raid of last March, in which the point turned on whether the circumstances amounted to what might be called a "Riot or Civil Commotion." Mr. Justice Bucknill decided that they did not do so because, beyond the actions of the women themselves, there was no commotion in the streets. This may be sound law, but in our view the difference between the window-smashing by women in March and that carried out so frequently by men lies in the fact that the perpetrators were distinguishable at sight (by their clothing) from the bulk of the crowd, whereas in the riots caused by men this is not the case. We understand that there is a likelihood of an appeal from the decision.

The Smithies-Taylor Case

Mr. Smithies-Taylor has secured £5 damages against the Liberal stewards who violently ejected him from Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Walthamstow last June. In delivering his judgment, Judge Smyly clearly laid down the law that if the stewards of a meeting are authorised by the committee to suppress interrupters, the committee are liable for the acts of the stewards; that if a person who is lawfully present at a meeting (i.e., having a right to be there by ticket) interrupts and is requested to leave, his right or licence to be present is thereby terminated, and he becomes a trespasser, but if he proceeds to leave the meeting anyone who hurries or hustles him out commits an assault. We hope this decision, supporting, as it does, the decision of Judge Avory in the Hawkins case, will be taken to heart by Liberal stewards, who over and over again have acted illegally in their ejection of interrupters.

The hearing of the hatchet charge against Mrs. Leigh has been postponed to Tuesday next, December 10.

WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE

To Raise the Status and Defend the Honour of Womanhood—For the Sake of the Welfare of the Community

Women who look life in the face are appalled by the defacement of present-day civilisation. They see on every side the strongest evidences that all is not well with the human family. They are confronted with the problems of prostitution, immorality, disease, crippledom, epilepsy, and feeble-mindedness, and they know that these and other evils are bred of women's subjection.

The only way to touch the root of the matter is to raise the status of woman to one of human equality with man. The insulting denial to women of the rights of citizenship stamps them as beings of a lower order, made for the use or the pleasure of the rulers of the community. It stereotypes their position as the creatures and not the fellows of men, and lowers the standards of honour and morality as between the two sexes.

Women want the vote that they may raise the status and defend the honour of womanhood. They want the power to protect the bodies of women so that the very source and channel of human life and health and evolution may be kept pure and untainted.

Moreover, women want the vote that they may co-operate on equal terms with men in shaping the conditions under which the children of the human family are to be born, and the world in which they are to grow up. They want the vote in order that they may bring their point of view and their mother-wit and mother-wisdom to bear on problems that have baffled the male half of the community for centuries, so that men and women together may make a united and determined attack upon evils that are poisoning the very roots of the health of the community.

The White Slave Traffic, of which we have heard so much of late, is a part of a much greater evil which men, at various periods of the world's history, have tried in vain to subdue. The White Slave Traffic itself is one of the most obvious effects of women's subjection. The very name is an admission of the fact.

No emancipated class, no members of a self-governing commonwealth, could be the victims of such infamous barter. Nothing is heard of the White Slave Traffic in New Zealand and Australia, where the women have the vote.

If the House of Commons were to emancipate the women of this country, a far greater blow would be dealt to the system of White Slavery than could be inflicted by any lash which may fall upon the back of a scapegoat "commercial traveller" in the trade.

Closely allied to the White Slave Traffic is the whole problem of prostitution, with its attendant, far-spreading evils of disease, degeneration, and insanity.

Faced with failure again and again in the attempt to stamp out social evil, men have fallen back on the adage, "You cannot make people moral by Act of Parliament."

What they mean, if they only knew it, is, "You cannot change human nature by penal laws and rigorous punishments." Women found that out centuries ago in that oldest of schools and training grounds—the nursery.

Mothers and teachers could have told law-makers that you touch human nature by altering conditions that induce evil and by removing the causes that engender it.

That is what women are telling male legislators to-day in countries where they are allowed to speak by means of the vote—the only voice to which male legislators listen.

There the problem of prostitution is being dealt with with some success at last, because the whole community is dealing with it, by *constructive* legislation.

Penal legislation can kill prostitution as a profitable commercial enterprise yielding large profits to its shareholders; but prostitution as an alternative to starvation, or as a refuge from grinding drudgery, or as a result of helplessness and fear must be dealt with by constructive legislation.

First and foremost in efficacy would be the passage of a law giving Votes to Women. For this would raise in women a sense of greater respect for themselves, and in men a new respect for womanhood.

Very necessary also are laws to check the sweating of women, to improve the conditions of their industrial life, and to give to the wife and mother some financial security and independence. Such laws are much more likely to receive serious consideration after women have obtained the vote.

Laws affecting the reform of our administrative system would have an immediate bearing upon the problem. The appointment of women as Poor Law Guardians, the inclusion of women as members of the Police Force, the concession to women of the right to serve on juries, would go far in combatting the evil.

From time to time in the pages of Votes for Women we shall deal further with the necessity of this kind of constructive legislation. We shall tell the story of how these laws are being carried out in other lands, and we shall trace their results.

Meanwhile, we ask the thoughtful consideration of these matters on the part of every reader of this Paper. Especially we ask every woman to re-read and ponder over the two reasons given above for the determined struggle which women in this country are making to obtain the vote.

For to grasp the whole significance of these two reasons is to understand what is puzzling millions of people at the present time.

It is to understand the almost religious enthusiasm and fervour that characterises the Votes for Women agitation to-day.

What is religion if it is not manifested in supreme love for the human race and devotion to its welfare and happiness?

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

"WOMEN CAN'T FIGHT"

By Henry W. Nevinson

In one of his rhetorical "Lays of Ancient Rome," Macaulay described a country depleted of men because they had all gone to war. "And in the vats of Luna," he sang :—

> And in the vats of Luna,
> This year, the must shall foam
> Round the white feet of laughing girls
> Whose sires have marched to Rome.

It is all false. The white feet and the laughing girls are merely parts of the Early-Victorian myth of womanhood. The feet of working peasants, whether men or women, are not white. Girls labouring in the field are much too busy to laugh, and probably they have better things to do than jumping on grapes. Besides, in the Italy of ancient Rome, as in nearly all countries of the present day, there would not be anything in the least unusual in women doing the heavy work, whether in fields or workshops. That has always been their part in what is called the division of labour, men naturally allotting to themselves the more interesting and casual task of war.

It is so to-day in Central Africa, Eastern Europe, and most other countries I have known, even where war has become so rare that a man may sit ready for bloodshed from his cradle to his grave without once fulfilling his natural function of protecting feminine weakness. In the Balkans it is certainly so. I have seen all the Montenegrin men, for instance, swaggering about all day with their rifles, embroidered raiment, and silver accoutrements—the decorated, if not decorative, sex—waiting for the war that was more than thirty years in coming, while the women ploughed the fields, tended the goats, carried the petroleum tins of water, and, harnessed to carts beside an ox or dog, slithered through the mud, far from laughing, and with feet anything but white.

When the Men Go

But though Macaulay was as incapable of seeing reality as any modern "Anti," those lines of his kept running in my head, like a silly tune, while I watched the armies mustering in Bulgaria during the first week of October. Here was a country actually depleted of its men before my eyes. All the men between twenty and fifty were already enrolled. The first line—"the line" proper, the men between twenty and thirty, let us say—were already with their regiments on the frontier. The Reserves of rather older men were joining them rapidly, marching out through the capital in battalions by thousands a day. They marched in any scraps of uniform they could get, or in their peasant clothes, with great-coat, water-bottle, and bits of sacks tied by string about them. They marched in the pointed, peasant sandals, lashed to goats'-hair stockings by leather thongs. Flowers were stuck in the muzzles of their rifles, and in their furry caps. Beside most of them marched the women, carrying bundles of provisions—sausages, leeks, live fowls, and fragments of the family pig or calf. So the women marched to the station, or up into the mountains as far as they were allowed, determined to see the last of their men, and to give them something to cheer a man's heart in addition to the army rations of bread and soup for at least a day or two. Now and then, a woman or girl who was not marching would step out from the silent crowd that lined the road, and throw her arms round the neck of some officer, or some man among the fours. No one laughed. All knew how bitter and how solemn the moment was. An army of the people, a nation's manhood was going to battle. There was hardly a man among them who was not leaving someone behind. There was hardly a woman who was not left. Of those men marching to the front at least twenty thousand will never come back again; at least, eighty thousand are now coming back helpless or maimed.

Since then, the mere boys of sixteen have been called up for service. They can at least fetch and carry. They can stand with rifle and fixed bayonets to guard the railway bridges in the rear of the advance. The men from fifty to sixty, and even up to seventy-five—they, too, can make themselves useful. They can guide the innumerable ox-carts that crowd in unceasing procession along the terrible roads, carrying bread, cartridges, and even heavy guns to the front, and bringing the loads of wounded jolting back. So it is that, at this moment, very nearly all the men of the nation are engaged in one service of war or another, and it falls upon the women to carry on the ordinary work of life.

The Woman's Burden

As I have said, this extra burden would not be so much noticed in the Balkans as in England. I don't know what proportion of Englishwomen keep themselves or add to the family income by paid work apart from "housework." Something more than half, I suppose. But in Bulgaria I doubt if there are more than two women in every hundred who are not engaged in some form of manual labour, chiefly agricultural. Perhaps I might say two in a thousand. Yet accustomed to toil as the women are, the absence of all the men must make a considerable difference. The absence of all the oxen probably makes more difference still—those beautiful grey oxen without which no field can be tilled or manured, and no produce brought to market. Thousands on thousands of oxen have been requisitioned for the war, and only a Government receipt on a bit of paper given in exchange. A terrible loss! But still the loss of the men counts for something, too.

One cannot say what the war will cost the country. Five to ten millions, perhaps; one cannot say. There will not be much indemnity, for Turkey is pretty nearly wiped out, and Turkey never pays. But, in any case, in one form or another the main loss will fall upon the families; that is, upon the women. The cost of provisions, clothes, and the few little luxuries of a peasant people will go up rapidly. So will taxation. And the buying power of money will go down. Every family will have to stint itself, and it is the woman who always does the stinting. That is one of the reasons why the woman's place is the home.

The Burden of Uncertainty

I have kept strictly to what is called the material or practical side of the matter—the side of meat, drink, warmth, and similar bodily needs. But, after all, we are not entirely cattle, much as the "Antis" and "Eugenists" like to make us so appear. There are such things as affection, anxiety, and longing even in families, and even among peasants. The lover goes with flowers in his cap; the girl he leaves behind him suffers more. It is so in all wars, but in this war, perhaps, particularly. For this war has been conducted in silence. No one knows in what part of the campaign a man may be. No lists of the dead are published; no lists even of the wounded. At every station, even at every crossroad along the railway, one sees knots or crowds of women waiting for the trains to pass—waiting in hopes of news about a father, husband, brother, or someone else they like. Hour after hour they stand. Some make soup ready for every train that lumbers up, on the chance *he* may be in it. Some wait through the night as well as day. They sleep on the platforms, or on the tiled floors of the waiting-rooms.

Woe to the Conquered

If these things are done in the victorious country, what of the country whose armies are defeated and driven back in panic rout? Take the suffering at its lowest. On entering the Turkish town of Mustapha Pasha, two other correspondents and I pitched in a harem. Do not be alarmed. It was empty, painfully empty. All the Turkish women, all the Turkish families in the town had fled, carrying with them the scraps of things that could be carried. Hardly had they gone when every house was pillaged. We found the nice little new house that a Turkish retired officer had built for his wife and three children stripped of every stick. Carpets, hangings, divans, furniture, cooking things—all were gone. Nothing remained but the bare mud walls and the bare mud floor. We lived there some weeks, gradually burning for firewood all that would burn, except the house itself. Fences, clothes-props, doors, lattice, garden trees—everything went. To what a ruin that Turkish wife will return if she ever returns! And that sort of thing happens in every village or town that a foreign army enters. I know it is "against the rules of war." That makes no difference. It happens, and it is the best that happens.

For miles south and east of that town, almost every village was in flames, or smoked with blackened, empty walls. But I have not space to speak of the worst that happens in war, nor could it be described. The things that have been done during this few weeks' war by Turks before they fled, by the invading armies, and by neighbours venting the cherished hatred of generations, will never be known. No one will ever describe them truly—the pillage, the murders, the child-slaying, the violations. I who know Turkey and her embittered races rather well, can imagine no more infernal scenes, and I know that in all of them it must necessarily be the women who have suffered most. But women are to have no vote, no voice in the crisis of peace or war, no word as to the life or death of themselves and their children, no decision where their own honour is at stake! I do not mean they would always decide for peace. I am convinced the Bulgarian women were ready to risk everything rather than allow the Turkish domination to continue. But that women should have no voice in their own destiny "because they cannot fight!" Lord Curzon, Mr. St. Loe Strachey, and all the "Anti's," except Mr. Belloc, tell us so. No doubt they are all honourable men, but of one thing they seem to me entirely ignorant, and that is war.

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THE ATTACK ON THE PILLAR-BOXES

Since last Friday the papers have devoted many columns to accounts of the attack upon pillar-boxes, which seems to have been wide-spread both in London and its suburbs, in Dublin, and the great Midland cities and towns, and to have continued up to Tuesday night.

In London the attack was mainly concentrated last Thursday night on the City, when it is said that acid was dropped into pillar boxes in Threadneedle Street, Moorgate Street, Moorfields, Mansion House, Throgmorton Street, Queen Victoria Street, Drapers' Gardens, Finsbury Circus, Holborn Viaduct, Angel Court, Coleman Street, Gracechurch Street, Stock Exchange, Mark Lane, Copthall Avenue, Swan Alley, King Street. One estimate said that about 1,500 letters and packages were reported from the local offices as damaged.

At the same time pillar-boxes in the West End and the suburbs of Wimbledon, Islington, and elsewhere were also dealt with. Those in Berkeley Square, Hill Street, Bond Street, and Brook Street had corrosive fluid poured into them. In some cases rags soaked in paraffin were found in the pillar-box.

In other cases exposure to the air appears to have generated fire, and it is reported that sorters were startled by seeing a blue flame rising from the letters.

A report which has been since contradicted said that flame and smoke were also seen coming from a pillar-box opposite the General Post Office.

A Post Office Statement

The *Times* and other papers published on Friday the following statement by an official of the General Post Office: "Most of the letters brought in from the boxes about which we got the earliest complaints have been forwarded to the addresses after being enclosed in special wrappers, with a covering note as to the cause of the delay and damage to contents. The investigation into the crimes must necessarily be left to the City and Metropolitan Police, as it is outside the scope of the departmental staff. In certain cases an analysis of the stuff put in the pillar-boxes will, no doubt, be made. Much of the material is something like printer's ink, but more fluid and very glutinous and evil-smelling."

It was reported that by midnight on Friday there were some thousands of letters, postcards, circulars, and newspapers destroyed. So swiftly was the damage done, however, that although special precautions were taken and a watch kept immediately the first case was discovered in Coleman Street on Thursday, not a single arrest is reported.

Some of the papers say that the Suffragette colours, purple, white, and green, appeared in various forms, and a City postman reported that coloured inks, or dyes, which he thought represented the Suffragette colours, were used. He also noticed a phosphorescent light on opening a box.

In the Provinces

At Nottingham, where about 500 letters are said to have been damaged or destroyed, and at Ilkeston, red ink seems to have been used. The *Daily Chronicle's* Nottingham correspondent writes: "Evidently it was well organised. The perpetrators started their work at the north of the town, and worked their way south, west and east, the area covered being about four miles from north to south and three miles from east to west. The audacity of the offenders is shown by the fact that several boxes in the busiest part of the city received attention."

At Newcastle the contents of sixteen pillar-boxes in the Heaton, Jesmond, and Gallowgate districts were damaged, and it is said that some 2,000 letters were spoilt.

Several pillar-boxes in the Wallasey district of Liverpool were found to contain black liquid, letters being damaged.

At Birmingham bottles and tins of dark-coloured varnish were dropped into the boxes, the contents flowing over a number of letters, many of which were badly smeared, while on some the addresses were undecipherable.

Similar reports come from Bradford, Bristol, Brighton, Bath, and Worthing.

A Reward Offered

On Friday night the following statement was issued by the Post Office:—

"Some persons are apparently engaged in London and elsewhere in an organised attempt to damage or destroy letters or other postal packets by putting injurious substances into Post Office letter-boxes. The Postmaster-General invites the co-operation of the public in the prevention of such offences. He will reward any person (other than a police officer) who obtains the arrest of an offender."

The difficulty of dealing with the women was explained by a City superintendent, who says: "We cannot possibly arrest them on suspicion, because, so far as we know, they are simply posting a letter."

An Admission

A Post Office official admitted that "for the past week or ten days, it must now be confessed, these extraordinary attacks on the postal service have been taking place."

SOME OPINIONS.

Mr. Laurence Housman, replying to the *Daily Telegraph*, said, "A Government which delays justice provokes disorder. A community which tolerates such a Government deserves all the disorder which ensues. I have nothing to say against those who try to bring home to the community its responsibility for unjust government."

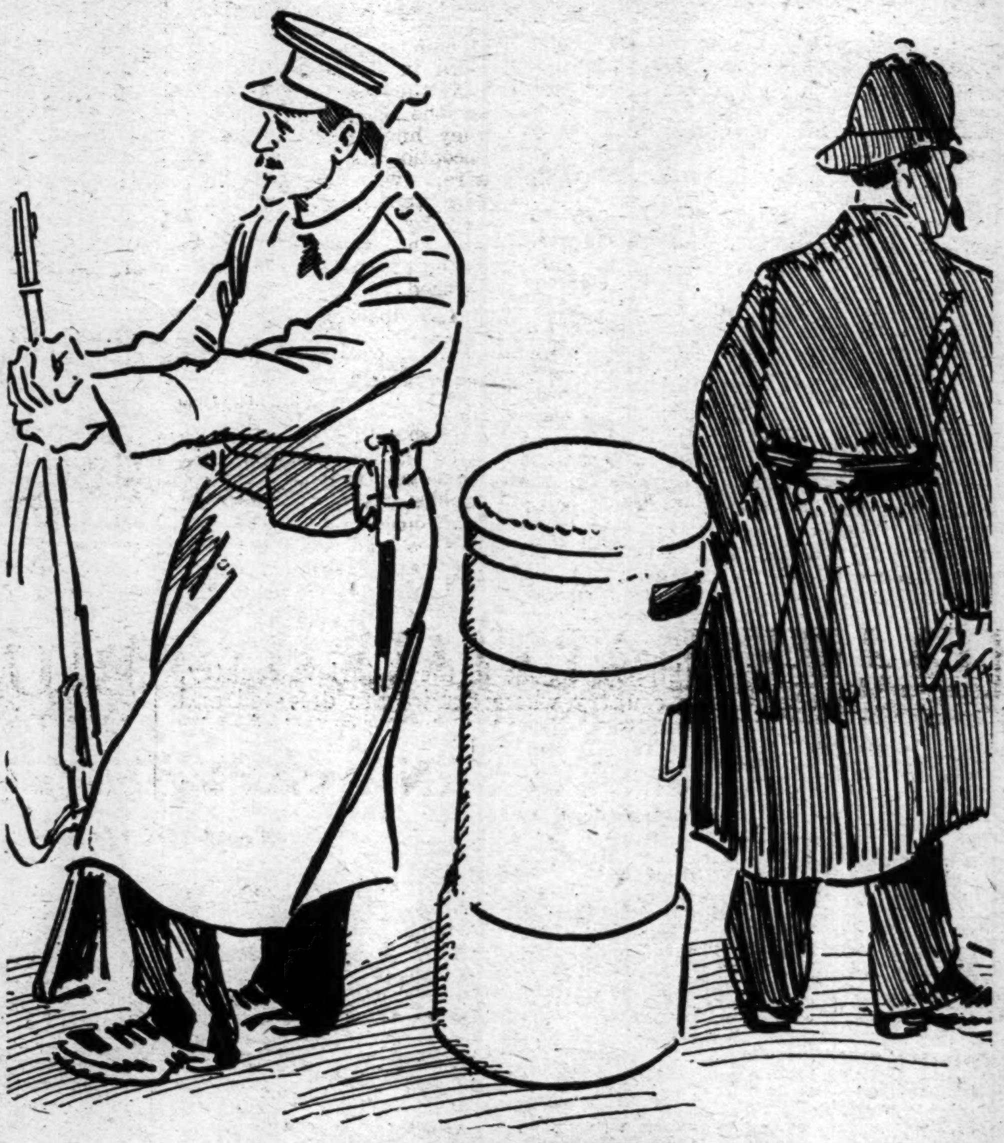
Mr. Bernard Shaw, in reply to the *Daily Telegraph*, said, "There is no evidence that the pillar-box affair was the work of Suffragists. It may be an anti-Suffragist move. If Suffragist, it is a practical application of the opinion that women should obtain their political ends indirectly by worrying men."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, when asked by a Press representative whether this particular phase of militancy had caused him and his wife to sever their association with the Women's Social and Political Union, answered: "No. This particular policy was not even discussed."

Questioned as to whether or not the policy had his approval, he made the following reply: "This sort of thing is what has always happened when constitutional means of redress has been refused. It will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George, speaking at Bath last November, said: 'I lay down this proposition—democracy has never been a menace to property. I will tell you what has been a menace to property. When power was withheld from the democracy—when they had no voice in the Government, when they were oppressed, and when they had no means of securing redress, except by violence—then property has many times been swept away.'"

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, asked for her opinion by the *Daily Telegraph*, said: The reading of history teaches me that the denial of justice to people determined to have it has always provoked acts which the community has called "outrages."

"Civicus," writing to the *Standard* (Woman's Platform), said: "It is time that something were done, and done quickly. This attack on the pillar-boxes is not altogether unexpected. We have been warned that a new militant onslaught would be made. Yet the Home Office, or whoever is responsible for safeguarding our liberties, took no steps to prevent the outrages. There seem to me to be only two alternatives: 1. To grant the suffrage to women. It would not matter much in these days of a stultified and impotent Parliament. 2. Start a rigorous campaign to crush the militant movement; exterminate root and branch the law-breaking bodies which run the campaign against the public, and put all the leaders in prison and keep them there, despite hunger strikes."



THE LAST RESORT

The above cartoon appeared in the *Daily Citizen* on Saturday last, from which it has been produced by kind permission.

PRESS OPINIONS.

Obviously this is a matter that concerns the public very closely. If we cannot rely on the safety of the correspondence entrusted to the familiar letter-box all confidence in the Post Office vanishes.—**The Daily Sketch.**

Public patience is exhausted, and the Government does nothing.—**The Globe.**

Choosing Stock Exchange "Pay Day" for the fell work was not a bad idea—from their point of view.—**The Financier and Bullionist.**

Was it not a distinguished member of the present Administration who suggested the chemical parcels post as a means of getting rid of troublesome autocrats? The advanced guard of the militant suffrage movement, the petticoated Bashi-Bazouks, have, at any rate, adopted this expedient to impress the righteousness of their cause upon the Legislature. What is to be done with them? This kind of campaigning is absolutely abominable. — **The Glasgow Evening Citizen.**

No matter how innocent you looked when going to post a letter in London on Saturday, you were liable to a very close scrutiny by a policeman, for, as a consequence of the suffragette outrages, one pillar-box one policeman was the order of the day.—**The Daily Mirror.**

The Suffragette raid on the Down Street pillar-box yesterday (Tuesday) afternoon touches the heart of Clubland. All the six o'clock correspondence of the Piccadilly clubs goes into this particular receptacle, and the raid was carefully timed to catch it. . . . Where the trouble came in was that the depredator sealed up the pillar-box for a time by spiking the keyhole, and the official locksmith had to be sent for to pick the lock. The letters missed the collection. — **The Pall Mall Gazette.**

Scotland Yard is alive to the necessity of preventing any recurrence of this mean and unpardonable form of vandalism. There is a special branch of the C.I.D. under Superintendent Quinn, which deals solely with this class of offence. It is reckoned as a political crime, and the suffragist perpetrators are ranked with anarchists and spies.—**The Standard.**

"THE PILLAR-BOXERS"

At the close of a leading article in which the above title is coined, the *Evening Standard* says:—

"We have often expressed considerable sympathy with the Suffragists' agitation. But society cannot exist if it treats the most serious crimes with levity. We cannot have all the processes of civilised existence obstructed because of the violence of a few misguided women."

AN IRISH VIEW

Until quite recently, says the *Dublin Express* in a leading article, "the average Irishman regarded the question of the enfranchisement of women in much the same way—we say it with all due reserve—as he regarded the coming of the Last Day—that is, with the fairly comfortable assurance that it would not, at any rate, happen in his time. Under these circumstances he was disposed to look upon the matter with a lenient—nay, we might say almost with a sympathetic—eye. But of late his equanimity has been rudely shaken. On coming down to breakfast in the morning he finds his correspondence stained, discoloured, rendered almost illegible by compounds which have been poured on it during the night. On making inquiries, he learns that this is the work of Suffragettes, or, as they prefer to be called, Suffragists. . . . This is a state of affairs which gives one furiously to think. . . ."

The *Dublin Express* will have to go on thinking furiously before it arrives at the right conclusion though.

◆

SUFFRAGISTS IN DUBLIN

The greatest vigilance is still being exercised in Dublin over the movements of all Suffragists. We deal in the Outlook with the shadowing by police of Miss Gladys Evans; we learn also that for some time past Mrs. Leigh's house has been watched night and day, the police being placed in relays both at the back and the front of it, and on the roof, to the number of thirty or forty. In spite of the fact that every woman known to want a vote is being shadowed wherever she goes, many militant manifestations have recently taken place in Dublin of which accounts are given on this page. We need hardly add that the subject of absorbing interest in the Irish press is now Votes for Women.

◆

A NEW MILITANT MANIFESTATION

Early last Sunday morning it was discovered that some fourteen hall doors of private residents in Dublin had been decorated with the words "Votes for Women" in white paint. Later in the day it was found that a number of houses in Herbert Park, Dublin, had been similarly treated. The police had no clue as to the painters, and we understand that no arrests have been made.

◆

MR. REDMOND HECKLED

Numbers of Suffragists were in the audience addressed by Mr. John Redmond at Sheffield last Friday evening, and they took the opportunity to bring to his notice a greater question than Home Rule. For about thirty to forty minutes he could not get a consecutive hearing, while the interrupters, to the number of twelve or more, were ejected one by one. Intermittent remarks punctuated his speech, after comparative peace was secured by these methods; and at one period of it the speaker was again silenced for some five minutes. Forced at last to speak on Votes for Women, Mr. Redmond made the illuminating remark that this was a question "which was fully and adequately discussed on the Home Rule Bill." "Words, not deeds" seems a remarkable motto for an Irish Nationalist!

◆

REX v. PETHICK LAWRENCE AND OTHERS

In the House of Commons, on Monday, December 2, Sir John Rolleston asked the Home Secretary what was the precise amount of the costs of the trial Rex v. Pethick Lawrence and others; what counsel appeared on behalf of the Crown and what fees were paid to each, respectively; were these counsel all present throughout the trial; if not, who was absent; what was the total amount of counsels' fees and disbursements, respectively; were the costs taxed, and by whom; and have the costs or any portion been recovered by execution upon the household effects of the defendants, or some and which of them?

Mr. Masterman: The cost of the trial was £998 12s. 8d., of which £77 13s. 6d. was paid by the Central Criminal Court. The counsel engaged on behalf of the Crown were, at Bow Street Mr. Bodkin and Mr. Leycester, and at the trial the Attorney-General, Mr. Rowlatt, Mr. Bodkin, and Mr. Graham Campbell, of whom the latter took the place of Mr. Leycester, appointed a Metropolitan police magistrate. The disbursements amounted to £48 18s. 2d., and the fees to £949 14s. 6d., divided as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The Attorney-General	351	16	6
Mr. Rowlatt	71	0	0
Mr. Bodkin	340	8	6
Mr. Leycester	68	10	0
Mr. Graham Campbell	117	19	6

No record is kept of counsel's attendance during the trial, but, with the exception of Mr. Rowlatt, all counsel were in regular attendance. The costs were taxed by the Taxing Master; a portion of the costs has been recovered by execution upon the household effects of one of the defendants, Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

WORDS NOT DEEDS!

Mr. Lloyd George At Home and On Tour

THE FRANCHISE BILL

Mr. Lloyd George delivered the following speech last Tuesday to a deputation consisting of about forty representatives of the Women's Liberal Associations of Wales and Monmouthshire, which waited upon the Welsh Parliamentary party at the House of Commons with a view to obtaining support for a women's franchise amendment to the Franchise Bill:—

"I think I ought to say that in any statement I make I am only speaking for myself. I am not speaking for my colleagues in the Cabinet. It is a question upon which it has been decided by those who are responsible for the party that each member of the Government and each member of Parliament sitting on our side of the House shall act and vote for himself, and that the ordinary bonds of party do not apply. It was recognised that that was the only possible way to discuss effectively the question of women's suffrage. It was recognised by the friends of women's suffrage that it was the only tolerable chance of getting any measure through the House of Commons. Both parties are hopelessly split on the question. The Liberal Government is divided, as is well known, on the question of women's suffrage. But so is the Opposition Cabinet. Some of the most reasonable members of both parties are supporters of women's suffrage. On the other hand, men of equal influence are ranged on the other side. Therefore it was recognised that the only possible method of effectively disposing of the question was to leave it an open question as far as Parliament was concerned.

"This is the first time that an opportunity has been afforded—at any rate during the time I have been a member of Parliament for incorporating a woman's suffrage amendment in an Act of Parliament. The Government are pledged to introduce and to press through the House of Commons a Bill dealing with the question of the franchise. The Prime Minister, speaking on behalf of the Government, has declared that an opportunity will be afforded, and an adequate opportunity, not merely for moving an amendment but for discussing it—an amendment dealing with the question of the enfranchisement of women. If that amendment is carried, he has gone further; he has stated that he will accept the decision of the House of Commons. It will then be embodied in a bill for which the Government will be responsible as a whole. Now that is a pledge which I regarded at the time, and still regard, as one full of promise for the cause of women's enfranchisement. What we have got to see is this—I am speaking wholly as an advocate of women's suffrage—that all our forces, all those who support women's suffrage, shall be ready and present on the occasion, and that we should endeavour to secure a majority.

"A Year Ago"

"For myself, I shall certainly vote for the amendment, and support it with all the power I can command. The same thing applies, I think, to the other suffrage members of the Cabinet. A year ago I was very hopeful of success. I think it would be idle to deny that at the present moment the omens are not quite so propitious. Circumstances over which certainly no one in this room had any control have antagonised public opinion to a large extent, and the House of Commons is very responsive to public opinion. There is a good deal of evidence inside the House that the ardour of suffragists has been chilled by the very remarkable proceedings of a small section of the supporters of the cause. What we have to do is to demonstrate that we are completely out of sympathy with those proceedings, and that those who take part in them represent only a very small proportion of the advocates of women's suffrage in this country.

"The task is more difficult because the women engaged in those proceedings seem to have deliberately taken each party in turn and endeavoured to antagonise every section of the community. First of all they did their best to antagonise the Liberal party by insulting and persecuting its chief and endeavouring to inflict very serious personal injury upon him. Naturally that alienated the sympathies of every loyal Liberal. It has also made it exceedingly difficult for those of his colleagues who are supporters of women's suffrage to proceed with the movement. Had it not been that we know that above all Mr. Asquith is a man of his word, and that when he pledges his honour he will stand by it, even to his own hurt, it would have been exceedingly difficult for Sir Edward Grey and for Lord Haldane and myself and other members of the Cabinet to give the support we have given to the cause of women's suffrage, because it might have brought us into conflict with the dictates of personal loyalty."

It was hardly necessary, continued Mr. Lloyd George, to say that the Prime Minister would stand by his pledge. To suggest otherwise would be almost an offensive implication. What they had now to do was to use their influence so that every supporter of women's suffrage should be present to give his vote when the occasion arose.

The "Norwegian" Amendment

The first amendment would be to delete the word "male." That would open the door for an amendment incorporating women on the register of voters. There would be three alternative proposals. There would be the proposal emanating from the Labour party, conferring the franchise on every woman in this country over 21 years of age. He did not think there was the slightest prospect of that being carried. When that was defeated there were two more amendments. One was the proposal known as the Conciliation Bill, which confined the franchise practically to women householders. The other introduced the plan, which he believed worked well in Norway, of conferring the franchise upon women householders and upon the wives of married electors.

"Personally," Mr. Lloyd George went on, "I have always been in favour of what is called the Norwegian amendment. I should deplore the extension of the franchise on the very narrow basis proposed in the Conciliation Bill. The wives of working men are profoundly interested in the great social questions before the public—the housing problem, the education problem, the question of feeding children, the temperance question; and it would be a great misfortune if in any extension of the franchise they were left off the register. I think I might go further and say that the Norwegian amendment is the only one which has any reasonable chance of being carried. There are a good many supporters of women's franchise who would not support the Conciliation Bill under any conditions. They object to it on purely democratic grounds. On the other hand, there are a good many supporters of the franchise who object to adult suffrage. The Norwegian amendment is a very fair compromise between the two extreme proposals. I earnestly hope it will be possible for the supporters of women's suffrage to concentrate on this. There is a majority in the House in favour of women's suffrage, and if we all unite on one amendment we can carry it."

"Exactly Where He Was"

In conclusion, Mr. Lloyd George said he hoped it would be made plain that they dissociated themselves from the violent methods which had done so much to antagonise opinion outside the House of Commons. This was a matter of really vital importance, for the sympathy of members of Parliament could not be held for women's suffrage if it was associated in their minds with the wild, mad work which was going on in its name outside. The second thing he would urge on all supporters of the suffrage was that during the few weeks before the matter would come up for discussion they should concentrate on one of the amendments. Supporters of women's suffrage had a majority—perhaps a bare majority—if they united. If they divided their forces they would be badly beaten. For himself he stood exactly where he was on this question. He had never been a friend of the Conciliation Bill. He had never pretended that he was. He had always opposed that particular form of women's suffrage. He had always been in favour of something in the nature of Mr. Dickinson's bill. He had spoken for it, he had voted for it, and he should do both again if he had an opportunity. They had had every provocation, even as Welsh members, to go into the opposite camp, but they wished to show that no mere pique or even resentment and indignation at the treatment they had received could be in their judgment sufficient reason for abandoning principles which they firmly believed in.

WHAT LIBERAL PAPERS THINK

His repudiation of the doubts thrown upon the loyalty of the Prime Minister to his pledge will be welcomed. Those doubts are base and ignorant. They show an entire misapprehension of the whole career of Mr. Asquith, whose faithfulness to a pledge has never failed. At the same time we think there is some ground for doubting whether the spirit of the pledge is being preserved in other quarters. If we understand it aright, the pledge meant that the Cabinet would hold itself aloof from any sort of party propaganda on the subject. Any attempt to influence members is a breach of the spirit of the pledge, and we hope that prompt steps will be taken to prevent the exercise of such influence.—**Daily News.**

The Government's object will be to pass it through all stages; and presumably they will succeed. One of two things will then happen; either it will become law, or it will be rejected by the Lords and take its time under the Parliament Act. In either case it will be incapable of subsequent amendment before it reaches the statute book; and the full opportunity which suffragists will have to amend it in January must be grasped then, for it will not recur.—**Daily Chronicle.**

ON TOUR

Last Friday Mr. Lloyd George travelled under the usual police escort to Aberdeen in order to address a meeting convened by the Scottish Liberal Association in the music-hall there. Before his arrival considerable alarm was caused by a rumour that "Suffragettes with bombs" had been found hidden in the hall where he was to speak, a rumour that threw the members of the Women's Liberal Federation into a state of perturbation, for they were just concluding a meeting with tea and conversation in one of the rooms of the hall when the report was first circulated. Every precaution had been taken against a militant surprise, and the hall had already been searched throughout; but a further examination disclosed the presence of three women, two of them in the pay-box, and a third in the main hall. One report says that they were concealed in a packing-case in the organ loft, and conjectures that they had gained access to this during a reception held in the hall the evening before. The "bombs" resolved themselves into ammunition for toy pistols—without the toy pistol. The police were sent for, and the three women were arrested and taken to the police station, where bail was refused.

The *Aberdeen Free Press* says: "It was stated that Mr. Lloyd George would not speak until the hall had been examined in every part."

The Meeting

Elaborate precautions were taken to ensure the Chancellor of the Exchequer an unbroken hearing. A large body of constables, says a morning paper, were stationed outside the hall, while plain-clothes men were hidden under the platform and distributed among the audience. Such was the state of nerves of those present that a lady attempting to take her seat at the Press table was promptly ejected because her credentials were not considered satisfactory—that is, she could not prove that she had not, never had had, and never would have, any desire for a vote. By these means honest criticism was kept at bay, but not entirely suppressed, for Mr. Lloyd George had scarcely risen to his feet when a voice called from the back of the platform, "Shame on you, sir!"

The usual rush of stewards (including stalwart shore porters obtained for the purpose) was made in the direction of the interrupter, who made a plucky fight for it, even swarming up the rope hanging from a ventilator. He was overpowered in time, and Mr. Lloyd George again began his speech, again to be interrupted as soon as he spoke of "the great Liberal triumph of 1906" by the reminder, "What about Votes for Women then?" This came from the gallery; a struggle followed, and another genuine Liberal was thrown out. A third time was the honour of Liberalism upheld, while the Chancellor was talking of the delays in the path of reform. The brave interrupter, who naturally saw in this a reference to the freedom of women, was as roughly ejected as his predecessors. After that, coercion temporarily triumphed, and except for one or two minor disturbances, the guarded speech of the guarded Minister proceeded to an inglorious finish.

More Arrests

After the meeting the Chancellor motored to Glenburnie Park, where he was to spend the night. The precaution was taken of sending on another car ahead of his, and the window of this pilot car was broken by a stone flung by a woman, who was immediately arrested. The house at Glenburnie was patrolled day and night by policemen, and Mr. Lloyd George was safely conveyed to Aberdeen station on Saturday morning. Here another Suffragist was arrested for striking a local Baptist minister with a whip, under the impression that he was Mr. Lloyd George in disguise. The Chancellor then proceeded by train to Kirkcaldy, where he addressed a meeting of carefully-picked Liberals, in the course of which he made two remarkable statements:

(1) That men could be "coaxed" into doing what they would not be bullied into doing (this was apropos of a Suffrage address presented to him from the N.U.W.S.S.), and (2) That at the Bow and Bromley election the Tory candidate was his (Mr. Lloyd George's) condidate, and he won.

At Kirkcaldy, as well as Stonehaven and Dundee, women Suffragists made attempts, in some cases successful ones, to speak to Mr. Lloyd George and charge him with his failure to do justice to women; and at Stonehaven, such was the electricity of the atmosphere, a bridal party throwing old shoes after the train ran a narrow risk of being arrested.

IN ABERDEEN POLICE COURT

Four Suffragists Sent to Prison

On Saturday morning, Miss Joyce Locke, Miss Fanny Parker, and Miss Marion Pollock, the three Suffragists arrested in the music-hall, appeared in Aberdeen Police Court before Baillie Robertson, to answer to a charge of breach of the peace. The defendants objected to the charge having been altered without their knowledge from that of "being in the building for some unlawful object," and protested, further, against the adjournment of the case, asked for by the Fiscal, Mr. Lamb, Miss Parker saying she considered it most unfair to keep unconvicted people in prison and not try them when they pleaded "Not guilty." Baillie Robertson granted the adjournment, however, and Miss Locke is reported to have thrown her shoes at him as a protest against his refusal to proceed with the case at once. Bail was allowed.

Miss Mary Humphreys was also brought up at Aberdeen Police Court on Saturday morning, and charged with throwing a stone at a car "in charge of Thomas Bartlett, chauffeur." The defendant objected to the charge, demanded the name of the owner of the car, on the ground that she threw her stone as a political protest, whereas the charge, as worded, implied that she was guilty of ordinary malice; she also wished to call Mr. Lloyd George as a witness. She was remanded, with bail, until Tuesday.

On Monday

Last Monday the Suffragist who had struck the Rev. Forbes Jackson by mistake was charged in Aberdeen Police Court as Miss Emily Wilding Davidson, and pleaded "Not guilty," denying the jurisdiction of the court. She was remanded, on bail, till Thursday in this week.

On Tuesday

On Tuesday the Suffragists arrested in the music-hall came up for trial, and after a prolonged hearing, during which they cross-examined the witnesses at great length, they were each sentenced to a fine of 20s. or in default five days' imprisonment. The evidence showed that they had been cramped in the pay box at the hall for some hours before they were discovered.

This would naturally account, as one of the defendants pointed out, for their being too stiff to be able to come out quickly when discovered, and their failure to comply instantly with the caretaker's demand that they should do so caused him to pull them out with unnecessary force. This led to further violence on the part of their captor, now reinforced by police, and to natural resistance on the part of the defendants, which was distorted by the witnesses for the prosecution into the usual charges of "scratching" and "kicking," against which the defendants were, as usual, powerless. Unless these charges had been brought it is difficult to see how a conviction for "breach of the peace" could have been secured, since nothing was brought forward to show that the three women were in the hall for any other purpose than that of disturbing a political meeting and speaking to Mr. Lloyd George. They left the dock saying "We protest, and shall protest in prison."

Miss Mary Humphreys, on surrendering to her bail on Tuesday, was found guilty of smashing the window of a motor-car in which she alleged Mr. Lloyd George was driving, though the occupants were said to be the Right Hon. Robert Farquharson, Joseph Farquharson, A.R.A., and a lady.

The defendant insisted that Mr. George was in that particular car and evidence to the contrary was conflicting, it being noticeable that the ownership of the car was not divulged, the name only of the chauffeur being given.

She had cited Mr. Lloyd George as witness, and demanded his appearance, but this was refused; and when sentence was passed of 40s. or ten days' imprisonment, a scene was created by her refusal to leave the dock. She was forcibly removed amid cries of "Shame" from those in court.

It is rumoured that the four prisoners have been given political treatment, but we understand that even if this is so, they will make a vigorous protest in prison, as they consider the charges against them were unproved.

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BRAVE BOYS—DUTIFUL GIRLS

Suffragists have not forgotten how Mr. John Burns, as President of the Local Government Board, visited a school and exhorted the boys to be brave and courageous and to learn a trade which would make them independent, and how he told the girls that their duty in life was to cultivate self-sacrifice and to make other people happy It would almost seem that the same spirit actuated Mr. Alfred H Miles when he edited a volume of stories for boys under the title, "In the Lion's Mouth," and an equally fat volume of stories for girls as "Where Duty Calls" (both published by Stanley Paul, 5s.).

A strange delusion seems to influence people whose thoughts run in this groove; they imagine, one can only suppose, that boys and girls inhabit two entirely separate parts of the globe, and that they never meet, or that if they do it is only on the emotional plane. Here are extracts from the two prefatory notes, over the same signature, to these two volumes. First, from the boys' book:—

> We all know the lion's mouth, and we commonly smile when we see our fellows walking straight into it.

("What uncommonly nice fellows you must be," we cannot resist saying incidentally! We should have thought the smile was more appropriate on the face of the lion.) Now take the opening words of the preface to the girls' book:—

> Duty makes an imperative call upon character and integrity. . . . From old time girls have been limited to service in the sphere of duty, but we live in a wider world. . . . In the mere exploitation of their wider range of duty girls need the inspiring and invigorating stimulus of adventurous experience.

Always duty, you observe, even when courage and the love of adventure are admitted. One more quotation. It is from the last page of the girls' book:—

> Oh, Aunt Bella, how could I ever have fancied myself in love with him, or thought him handsome? . . . He made a desperate effort to appear at ease in my society [the girl is seventeen and the man twice her age], but his sickly attempts at gallantry filled me with disgust. I am afraid I showed something of my feeling in my face, for he turned away intensely mortified. . . .

In her moralisings on the man in question the author of this story, Isabel Vernon, has previously remarked: "I have sometimes thought, when I have seen two or three young girls using every effort to attract the notice of some desirable but indifferent Adonis, if they only knew the worth of a little judicious letting alone they would practise it oftener. Men who respect themselves seldom marry women they do not respect, and they never respect girls who boldly seek their society." And this is not a "Guide to Marriage," but a book of stories for girls published at the end of 1912!

NEW BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

The remarkable drawings of little Daphne Allen, recently on view in London, and published under the title of "A Child's Visions" (George Allen, 6s. net), will make a charming present for a child with artistic gifts. Mr. Lewis Hind says in an introductory note that before she was twelve "Daphne had made thousands of drawings. . . . No one can look at the range of illustrations in this book without a feeling of astonishment that they should have been produced by a child." Any little girl who draws, and finds this fascinating book among her Christmas presents will be fortunate indeed.

Whether or not, from the strictly technical point of view, it is high commendation to say that a photograph does not look like a photograph, but like a very dainty pencil drawing, we do not know. At any rate, nothing more pleasingly unlike the ordinary photograph has come our way than the charming illustrations by Carine and Will Cadby to "A Child's Day" (Constable, 5s. net). The work of these artists is already well-known to lovers of beautiful pictures, and for the sake of the pictures we can forgive the printing of the rhymes (by Walter de la Mare) on dark grey paper, which, while it forms a suitable background for the illustrations, is somewhat trying for print. We should like to see "A Little Boy's Day" illustrated by the same artists. Would his pre-occupations also consist of the duties of the toilet, making daisy-chains, dressing up, and—stealing the ginger? We wonder.

It is a pity that the text of "The Dutch Twins" (Constable, 3s. 6d. net) was not carefully edited before publication on this side of the Atlantic, because in these days children are so very critical! And such a sentence as "When she was all through, it was still quite early in the morning, because they had gotten up with the sun," is calculated to puzzle the young reader, who will, however, probably overlook it in the delights of following Kit and Kat through their simple adventures, and in looking at the quaint pictures of these fascinating little Dutch people. Lucy Fitch Perkins, as both author and illustrator, has succeeded in giving us a delightful book. She has kept the balance between the boy and girl very carefully, too (evidently she knew that her book would have to pass the stern test of the Suffragist reviewer!), and we know of no little boy or girl whose fingers would not itch to write his or her name in the space on the page where there is a drawing of the twins holding up a tablet with the words: "This book belongs to.................."

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PLAYS OF THE WEEK

The Dreamer

"The Dreamer," described as a poetic drama of the life of Joseph, by Mrs. Percy Dearmer, was produced for the first time on Friday last in the King's Hall Theatre. One is so often told that this is a materialistic and a sordid age both by laymen and clergy that there is grave danger lest we accept this without question, and so fail to see those signs of the times which point in quite another direction. "The Dreamer" is one of these signs, so is "Eager Heart," and so are other plays produced by the Pioneer Players, the Norwich Players, and the Morality Play Society. These and many other plays are proof that men and women to-day cannot live by that which in drama shows only the material and obvious side of life; they are proof of the hunger for real and spiritual life in which it is the province of art to lead, in music, in colours, in form, and in rhythmic movement.

In "The Dreamer" we have in drama all these artistic forms calling us to the revelation of the spiritual life as it is understood by those who dream dreams and see visions. We see the struggle between the almost inarticulate realisation of the presence and voice of God and the natural human fear of the consciousness of immensities only dimly understood. We see as the play develops the jealousy, the impotent rage, the cruel hatred always meted out to those, however humble, who are conscious of an inspired mission, and finally we see, as ever, the curse become impotent and the weapon harmless against the Son of God, and we see Him Who was delivered over to death rising triumphant over His enemies. That these foes were of his own household, that those nearest saw the least in his vision makes the tragedy of Joseph all the more poignant and his final triumph very tender and beautiful as an occasion for helping and teaching his brothers who had betrayed him.

I thought the acting and the general staging very much better than it was last year in "The Soul of the World," and that the dresses were quite beautiful. Mr. Otho Stuart made a dignified Israel and Mrs. F. R. Benson a very beautiful Rachel. Mr. Harcourt Williams had taken infinite pains to realise the character of Joseph, and the child Benjamin was delightful.

There were two interesting dances arranged by Miss Annie Spong. I thought the first one wanted more rehearsing; it was unusual, and expressive of the appeal to magic arts; but I thought one or two of the dancers were very recent recruits, as they watched the others too carefully, and were even then a little out of time.

The second dance, before the Pharaoh, was much more spontaneous, but it was more ordinary, one seemed to have seen the movements often before, which of course always happens when any one technique is very closely followed. I think, too, that in both cases the dancers were a little cramped for room. This applies to the actors, too; several times I thought the stage too crowded, and that a better effect would have been attained by an emptier stage.

I am not going to say the production was influenced by Reinhardt, because I am told it was not, and I can well believe that many effects which to-day are becoming quite usual on the stage are part of a quite unconscious similarity of taste which finds the same sort of expression quite natural. When our houses, our gardens, our dress have so entirely left early Victorian standards of taste behind, the stage is bound to be influenced in the same direction, and so we get space, clear outline, and an effect of air and sunlight on the stage, as we do in our homes, instead of walled in stuffiness, plush furniture, and endless, tiresome accessories. And there is more chance for the action of the play and the genius of the actors, as there is more room for the life of the family in the home. Altogether Mrs. Dearmer is to be congratulated on the production as well as on the writing of the play.

M. N.

Mr. Wilkinson's Widow

Miss Constance Clyde's clever one-act play, "Mr. Wilkinson's Widow," given for the first time at the Actresses' Franchise League matinée last Friday, is excellent propaganda. The main theme is that a man may, if he pleases, will all his property away from his wife, even if, as in this case, she has put everything—money, personal devotion, the sacrifice of self—during her whole married life into building up that property.

Mrs. Wilkinson (played by Miss Blanche Stanley) looks upon married life as a duty; she does not hold that a woman should expect to get out of it any personal happiness, except a certain "'oly 'appiness" which is, she considers, too intangible to count; but she had expected that her years of subservience to Josiah and his tantrums would receive some substantial recognition when the yoke was removed by his death. To his servants he leaves legacies of £20 and £30; to his eldest son all his property; to his wife, a corner in the old home which she has helped to make—and that corner dependent on her son's generosity. So her dreams of a little poultry farm in the home of her girlhood are shattered, and she sees before her nothing but a life of idleness embittered by the constant presence, as mistress of the inn, of Jack's wife, with whom she "doesn't get on."

The blow startles her into the discovery of her own personality. Josiah has proved by his outrageous will that he does not consider her his widow, and who is she to set herself up against his decision? She is not his widow, she tells the family, and exchanging her heavy weeds for a coloured dress of old-fashioned cut (she has left the business so seldom that she has no modern dresses) she goes out to tell people of the injustice she has suffered. And her young daughter-in-law, the wife of the youngest son, stands by her. "This is very hard on me," says the eldest son. That is the story, and although there is no mention of the vote, it must set even an "Anti" thinking.

The First Actress

Miss Christopher St. John's "First Actress" was played for the first time by the League last Friday, though it has been seen once already in London, when, in May, 1911, it was given by the Pioneer Players at the Kingsway Theatre. At the Lyceum last Friday the part of the first actress was beautifully played by Miss Norah Lancaster, and all the other characters were played by popular actresses - Henrietta Watson, Florence Lloyd, Evelyn Weedon, Maud Cressall, Gertie Millar, Margaret Bussé, Saba Raleigh, Gladys Cooper, Lilian Braithwaite, Julia James, and Gertrude Kingston.

The scene is the stage of Killigrew's Theatre in 1661, and Margaret Hughes, the protégée of Sir Charles Sedley (Mr. Ben Webster), has just been hooted off by a gang of roughs hired by Kynaston, the people's favourite Shakespeare "heroine." Saddened by her apparent failure, the first actress sinks into a chair, while the stilted compliments of Sedley and Lord Hatton (Mr. Tom Heslewood) fail to satisfy her. Griffin (Mr. James Dale) lectures her on the sphere of woman. If women are to play women's parts, he says:—

> That is as much as to say that acting is not an art. By that show of reasoning we must import negroes to play Othello—we must go to the gaols to find the impersonators of our villains—must bribe noblemen to play our stage dukes—and allow no unmarried actor to play a husband, no childless actor to depict the emotions of a father.

To Margaret's argument that women have had less practice than men, Griffin replies that it is not in them to give the requisite careful study, they have neither the mental power and energy nor the creative imagination. "Yet they have had the opportunity of participating in arts demanding a much smaller sacrifice of womanly delicacy than the art of acting." To this Margaret answers indignantly:—

> I like to hear you men prate of our "womanly delicacy"—as if you valued it so highly. . . . A lot of delicacy the Sedleys and Etheredges of the world leave us!

In the course of the argument Griffin urges that a woman's true vocation (they said it in 1661 and they are saying it still!) is to be the wife of a good man, and to bear him a hopeful and healthful progeny. But Mr. Burt, Margaret replies, who plays Othello, does it no worse because he has to be father and mother too to his numerous children! She adds: "'Tis very bitter to me to think that through my failure I may have kept my sex off the stage for centuries—if not for ever."

Left alone, she sleeps, and there appear to her the actresses of the future, beginning with Nell Gwyn, who has been selling oranges in the pit. One by one they speak encouraging words; Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Nance Oldfield, Peg Woffington, Kitty Clive, Mrs. Siddons, Mrs. Abington, Mrs. Jordan, Madame Vestris (as Captain McHeath), and lastly, an Actress of To-day, who draws the curtains and shows grouped together all the brilliant throng, who have passed across the stage in semi-darkness, and who now advance and hold a crown over the head of the sleeping pioneer.

TWO NOVELS

"Mrs. Lancelot" (Macmillan, 6s.) is a story dealing with the early part of the eighteenth century, written in Mr. Maurice Hewlett's delicate style. He calls it a comedy of assumptions—for the gentle heroine marries the man "assumed" by her family to be the right person; and later on she is "assumed," quite wrongly, to be the mistress of the Great Man of the story. In the end comes a reaction, and she breaks away from all these "assumptions" and makes a path for herself of which we are shown only the flowers and not the inevitable thorns. The story of the heroine is typical of the social crisis of a period when old accepted ideas were just beginning to be questioned, and the new spirit of enquiry and revolt was arising. It is unnecessary to add, regarding a book by Mr. Hewlett, that the setting of his story is vivid and attractive.

Another book, by Richard Dehan, the author of "The Dop Doctor," has been eagerly awaited. "Between Two Thieves" (Heinemann, 6s.), stirring and strong as it is, may be a disappointment to many. Perhaps it loses in effect because it deals with a more remote period than that which formed the background of the earlier book; perhaps it is too long; perhaps it is only that one resents an imaginary story woven round the revered figures of Florence Nightingale and Henri Durant, the founder of the Red Cross. At any rate, it is encumbered with unnecessary characters, although the main thread concerns the influence of a good and a bad woman in the hero's life. We get glimpses of the "Lady with the Lamp" at work in London, or militant in the Crimea, and she forms in her purity and unselfishness a striking contrast to the self-seeking and pettiness of the other woman, who first drew the hero from the high ideals of his boyhood.

◆

BOOKS RECEIVED

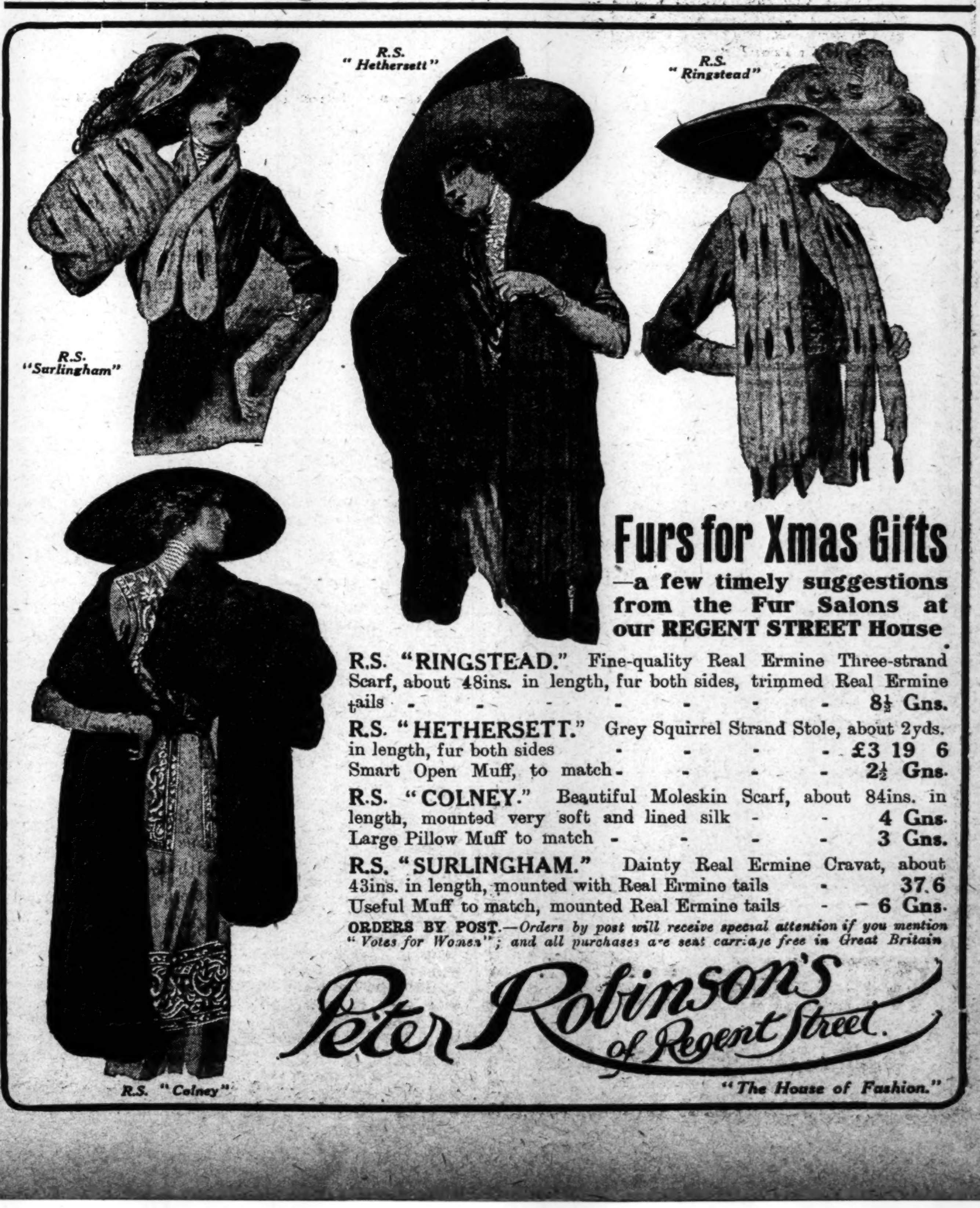
"The Confession of a Fool." By August Strindberg. (London: Stephen Swift. Price 6s.)

"The Education of the Women of India." By Minna G. Cowan. (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Westminster Review." (London: E. Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"Housecraft." By M. Fedden. (London: G. Gill and Son. 10d. net.)

"The Training of the Child." By G. Spiller. (London: T. C. and E. C. Jack. 6d.)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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1912.

WHO ARE THE PILLAR-BOX CULPRITS?

During the past week the Community has been startled and angered by an attack upon one of the most important arteries of its daily existence. The postal system has by universal usage become so much a part of modern civilisation that its regularity and inviolability have been taken for granted. It has seemed almost as unlikely that letters posted would not be delivered as that night would not follow day or that the tides would cease to ebb and flow.

Into this regular and comfortable state of assurance a bombshell has suddenly been cast. Pillar-boxes have been tampered with in such a way that letters have been destroyed or their addresses rendered indecipherable; and this has been done on a scale which suggests preconcerted arrangement, or at any rate a common impulse actuating a number of people simultaneously. Moreover, not only has this occurred once, but several times, and as none of the perpetrators has been caught there is no certainty that it will not occur again, perhaps on many occasions. The public are therefore eagerly demanding that the offenders be brought to punishment, and that a stop may be put to this derangement of public affairs. Will they succeed in these endeavours?

The answer to this question lies deeper than many who ask it understand. We must first realise the delicate balance of forces which civilisation implies. The essence of all human society is mutual helpfulness and the mutual abstention from acts of unfriendliness. Though average morality, as established by human custom regulated by human law and enforced by public opinion and the combined force of the Community, may not reach the heights demanded by religious teachers, it has nevertheless a minimum below which it cannot go without bringing about the disintegration of the whole social fabric.

Under ordinary circumstances the only persons who infringe the established laws of the community are the so-called criminal classes—the persons who in consequence of their misery, their selfishness, their half-wittedness, or their lack of education, care nothing for the preservation of the civilised State. But this is not the case in the present instance. Judging by previous occasions we know that the women who have tampered with the pillar-boxes are women of character, of education, and of steady and confirmed purpose. It is quite useless for anyone to discuss whether the action itself is criminal or morally wrong, because it is evident that the women who have committed it do not hold this view. In their opinion the outrage committed against them in withholding from them by dishonest means the Parliamentary vote, after a duly expressed constitutional agitation, has freed them from the binding moral force of the observances of civilisation.

Herein lies the root of the matter. From the commencement of his public life Mr. Asquith has proceeded on the assumption that women did not count as human beings. The great maxim, "No taxation without representation," was in his opinion only applicable to men. If a woman claimed the right to share in making the laws she was called on to obey, her voice was to be silenced and her claim ignored. When a deputation of women, including some of the most honoured names in the community, asked him to receive them, he had them driven back with blows by the police. Mr. Lloyd George has aided and abetted Mr. Asquith by adding dishonesty to contemptuous disregard. Between them they hatched the plot of "torpedoing" the Conciliation Bill, on which women had built their hopes for two years, and for which Mr. Asquith had promised a fair field and no favour in the Session of 1912.

By these actions Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George said in effect to women, "We care nothing for the justice of your demand, we care nothing that it is supported by every organised body of women, by almost every County Council and Municipal Body throughout the country, and that it commends itself to the good sense of the people as a whole. You are weak and can be trampled upon; we do not recognise any obligations towards you!" They thus frankly broke the fundamental laws of civilisation; and the Community in allowing them to take up this attitude with impunity endorsed their action.

Now, fundamental laws cannot be broken without retribution; but so slowly do the forces of destiny work themselves out that the ignorant and the shallow often fail to trace the connection between cause and effect. The man who breaks with the moral traditions of his childhood is often surprised to find that he can do so with great pleasure to himself, and that the maxims he has been taught seem to be conspicuously falsified by the event; it is not till years afterwards that, too late, he discovers his mistake. So it is in the world of public life. King Charles I. successfully defied his people for many years before his Parliament took up arms against him. The British Ministers frankly trampled on the rights of the American Colonists for a long time before they rose in rebellion. And instances without number could be cited from our own times.

What the public has to realise, therefore, with regard to the attack upon the pillar-boxes is that it is part of a rebellion brought about by precisely the same causes which have brought about rebellions in other countries and at other times. The women have not gathered themselves together and encamped in battle array upon Primrose Hill, because to take such a course, in view of modern conditions, would have been to court instant defeat; but they have adopted a far more effectual modern equivalent. They have struck a blow at civilisation *from within*, and by this means they have partially succeeded in putting its complicated machinery out of gear.

Very many suggestions have been made as to how these attacks can be brought to an end. It has been proposed that every pillar-box and post-office in the land shall be watched day and night by a member of the police force; it has been proposed that any woman actually caught in this or any other attack upon property shall be dealt with as a lunatic or treated with exceptional severity in prison, and that if she hunger strikes she shall be allowed to die; it has been proposed that new laws shall be passed permitting flogging of these women, that other laws shall be passed giving the authorities power to transport them and their leaders to some lonely island in the Pacific!

Does anyone seriously suppose that such proposals could be carried out, or that, if they were carried out, they would achieve their purpose? No! Such a prescription for the disorders of the Community does not provide a remedy, for the simple reason that the diagnosis is at fault; it has mistaken a symptom for the disease. There is only one remedy which is likely to prove efficacious. Let the Prime Minister and his Cabinet act justly; let them listen to the voice of the people when constitutionally expressed, let them abandon coercion and admit women to a share in the control of the country. In this way, and in this way alone, will the present disorder of the body politic be healed and the well-being of the people of the country be restored.

"THE ONLY WAY"

Extracts from Mr. Lansbury's Speech at the London Opera House on Dec. 2, 1912

I want, first of all, to say how very grateful I am—and I am sure my wife joins me in saying how very grateful we both are—to the friends who have gathered here to-night to give us this magnificent welcome. No words of mine can convey to you all we feel about it, but I am certain she feels, as I do, that your tremendous enthusiasm over what I have done is out of all proportion to that service.

To talk about one election being lost, and to talk about a defeat of one man at the poll being a defeat of the Suffrage movement, is to talk arrant nonsense! This movement is bigger and more important than all the parties in the country, and therefore there is not, in the slightest sort of way, any need to be disheartened. The thing that has helped me more than anything else is that we fought an industrial constituency; that women belonging to the militant Union went down there, and frankly, and avowedly stood by that militancy amongst the working people, and the men and women of Bow and Bromley, whether they voted for us or against us, gave them a respectful hearing, and for the first time heard from the lips of militant women what their movement was.

You will never again have the East End of London in the condition it was before the election. As a result of the campaign you have now in Bow and Bromley a solid body of men and women who know this Suffrage movement better than they ever knew it before, and to my mind that is the great thing the election has done. It has given militant and non-militant women, and all who believe in the movement, the best opportunity I think they have ever had of telling working class audiences what the movement really is about. No one who went through that election can deny this, that the only people who got big audiences were the women speakers right through the length and breadth of the Division. That, I think, is itself something to be proud of, and shows that the working people of the country are not up in arms against the movement. The great mass of them wanted to know why people were doing these things, and why it was that women were taking their part in a political campaign such as this.

I tried in my Election Address to put down, in the sort of English understood in Board Schools, what the election was all about. The Editor of the *Daily Citizen* was greatly concerned! The *Daily Mail* told us that the election was all about the Insurance Act, and that it was a great victory against Mr. Lloyd George and the Insurance Act. On Saturday Mr. Lloyd George said it was a great victory *for* the Insurance Act, and claimed Mr. Blair as his supporter. What is a poor man like me to do under such circumstances? If I caused confusion, the daily Press and the Cabinet Ministers caused very much more confusion.

Party Humbugs

But the root of the matter is just this, that the Party humbugs did not want the people to realise what the election was about for two reasons. First of all, they feared altogether to let the people—and particularly the people in a place like Bow and Bromley—know that there was a movement in the country which placed the question of the enfranchisement of women right in the forefront. The second reason was that it was to the interests of the Labour Party caucus, of the Liberal Party caucus, and of the Tory Party caucus, to confuse the issue altogether and get me beaten if they could, because they knew quite well that if a man could get returned independent of the Party caucus, then the Party system would soon be at an end. We have had seven years of something like forty Labour Members in the British Parliament. Can anyone say that those men, of whom I was one, have justified their existence as a Party, so far as the poor are concerned? I go back to Bow and Bromley, and I see women toiling and sweating there day in and day out. Why should they bother about politics, if politics is not going to lift them up out of the slough of despond in which they are now? The record of the Labour Party in the House of Commons, which they can put before the electors at the next election as the record of forty men, is a pretty poor record indeed. I hope you women who are making such a struggle to emancipate yourselves, and who are devoting whatever talents and energy you possess to your cause, will use your votes and political power side by side with your weaker sisters down there, and lift them right up, and help them to fight for social emancipation, just as we are all banded together for political emancipation.

I was asked by political men during the election, and by Trades Unionists, why I swung off on the question of Votes for Women, away from the poverty question. I have not done anything of the kind. I never can understand why I should expect another man to live under conditions which I would hate and detest for myself, and I don't understand how any man can expect that any woman who has really thought about things, and tried to know about social conditions, should not put her whole efforts into the solving of the question of women and labour. I want working men and working women to take part in political and social things. In my opinion every question that comes up to-day affects them. Can anyone say that the question of Divorce should be settled by either the upper or the middle-classes without the working-class being consulted on it? You may flog men and pass White Slave Traffic Bills, but while you put tens of thousands of women into conditions of life where they cannot live without sin, sin you are going to have. When it is said you ought to leave these things to men to settle, that men will see justice done, the obvious answer is quite an easy one—Men have not done it.

Sometimes I have had qualms in connection with pillar-boxes and other things, and my heart has failed me when I have read of women being forcibly fed and of the horrors of prison. Sometimes I have asked myself whether it was worth while. It is not for me or you to judge. It is for the individual man or woman to judge. No one else has anything to say in the matter. But if the Government are going to arrest anyone, they will have to arrest Carson and Company as well. I am not going to allow you to imagine I am not a Home Ruler. I am, and have been ever since I have known anything at all about politics. But is it not true that cattle have been maimed and sheriffs' officers have had boiling water and pitch poured over them? Is it not true that landlords have been shot over hedges, and that two men were murdered in broad daylight in Phœnix Park? Is it not true that in this London of ours a prison wall was blown down, and in all kinds of ways violence was used? Is it not also true that there has never been in this country any movement of any real worth where men and women have not made the same sacrifices as the militant women are making to-day? Where is the Liberal Home Ruler, or the Irish Nationalist, who is going to chuck stones at the militants, and where is the Tory Unionist, the man who shouts, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right," who is going to stand up and denounce the militants?

Bound to Win

When men and women feel a cause sufficiently strongly to sacrifice themselves for it, that cause in the long run is going to win. That is why you are going to win, and any politician who talks about your not influencing public opinion has not any real weight.

For my part I would be glad if the movement could be constitutional and not militant. But there is this to be said concerning militancy. What are we doing? What steps are we taking to get this settled in the only manner it should be settled, by getting the women the vote this Session? It is up to the Liberal and Unionist and Labour Members—those Labour Members who think I have taken a quite stupid line, and who thank God they are not as other men are, especially this wretched man Lansbury—to do something. What are they doing now? None of them will pledge themselves to political action. They could stop militancy to-morrow if they would only use their votes in the House of Commons. It is no use their blaming women. Let them take the only course open to them, let them say the women are really in dead earnest, and the only way to play the game is to say to the Government, "If you won't put women into the Bill, then you cannot depend upon our votes for any of the other measures you have got before the House of Commons."

"The Only Way"

Let the men and women who are Liberals go to their Members in the House of Commons and point out to them that the proper way to stop militancy is for the men who have the power to use that power. That is the only way.

I want to finish by saying again how glad I was to fight the Bow and Bromley election. While I live I know very well I shall go on fighting, whatever happens. A man who has the experience of elections I have had can never be downhearted. I have polled 200 votes and I have polled 4,500 votes in elections, and I do not think that ups and downs of that kind count.

There is no reason to be downhearted. I believe honestly you have created public opinion in favour of Votes for Women, which is much greater than it was two years ago. Go where you will, the question is talked about and discussed. And it is up to us, who believe in it from the bottom of our hearts, to stand up for it. And we Socialists ought to fight for it. At least, so far as I am concerned, I am going to fight for it.

When the history of our time comes to be written—when we here have passed away, and the women go to the ballot-box side by side with men, and when our country is governed and administered in the interests of the great mass of the people—those who will stand out, whom others will care to remember, will be the men and women who, from 1906 to 1912, and especially the women of all classes—professional women, leisured women, women of wealth, women of poverty—joined their hands together and said, "We will work in our day and generation, we will give whatever we have, of health and strength and wealth, to humanity." And it will be writ large in those days how women were tortured in prison for their cause, endured scoffs and sneers—women like our chairman and people like the Lawrences, along with the long roll of women whose names I do not know. Believe me, friends, in my mind I leave none of them out. They all live in my memory, and in those days to come the historian will write how people redeemed this age of gold and materialism, because you have shown that you believe in an ideal; something you can work for, for the sake of humanity.

It is a fine movement to be in, a glorious fight to be engaged in, and, at least for me and my wife, we have been proud to have had a small part in it.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

It seems strange to us at times that many and great sacrifices should be exacted in order to win a measure of justice so simple and so logical as the political enfranchisement of women. We think of the strenuous lives of hundreds of women who have given the best years of their existence and have grown old and grey-headed in arduous service to the cause of the emancipation of their sex. We remember the imprisonment of over a thousand women and the anguish of their relatives and friends, the violence, worse than imprisonments, that thousands more, both men and women, have suffered, the stoning and mishandling they have endured from ignorant mobs, hounded on to their work by infuriated party politicians, the brutality with which their protests at public meetings have been met by Liberal stewards—the unforgettable horrors of Black Friday. We think of the careers of men and women that have been sacrificed, the lasting injury done to health, and the lives that have been destroyed. And fresh in our memory is the thought of the man who has thrown up his place in the House of Commons in order to take his stand beside those who are fighting in this twentieth century for elementary human freedom for one-half of the human community.

And yet we know that for every expansion of human knowledge, for the smallest gain of human liberty, a great price has ever been and is always exacted. It is the inexorable law of life.

It is just as true, however, that every bit of sacrifice and pain brings compensating strength and joy. The intensity of the struggle means vividness and fulness of living. There is the delight of battle, independent even of the triumph of attainment which in a cause like ours is certain and sure.

Out of the militant agitation for Votes for Women has come the spirit of fellowship that has been generated amongst us all, high and low, rich and poor, old and young, men and women, and even little children, and has united us in a common ideal and purpose. Week by week brings us fresh evidences of the permeation of this spirit, which is finding expression amongst other ways in the Votes for Women Fellowship.

We invite all the readers of our Paper to enrol themselves in this Fellowship, the aim and purpose of which is to reach women and men who still remain out of touch with this great movement that is working for women's emancipation, to arouse and focus their interest and to enlighten their understanding as to the necessity and urgency of this reform. There are many ways in which this can be done. If every reader of the Paper would select at least one member of his or her social circle who is unconverted, and send them a copy for a few weeks, and subsequently induce that friend to become a permanent subscriber, the movement would rapidly be extended.

Of the many other methods of service that have been enumerated on previous occasions, two are at the present moment most urgent.

1.—Paper-Sellers. Additional recruits for this important work are urgently needed. Names should be sent in to me at 4, Clement's Inn, or volunteers should call at 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, between eleven and one on Thursday morning, and ask for Mrs. McLeod.

2.—Financial support for the Votes for Women Fellowship Fund, to provide for the exhibition of Posters and to meet the immediate expenses of the necessary organisation of sellers, and to send out the paper to M.P.'s and others on special occasions.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(November 26th to December 2nd.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
*Already acknowledged	92	18	2	Mrs. Cole	0	2	6
Miss Ethel Spark	0	2	6	Extra on Votes per Miss Thompson	0	2	6
Mrs. Sommerfelt	0	1	0	Extra on Votes per Miss Boulting	0	0	5
Miss Cartwright	0	1	0	Miss Barnett	0	5	0
Mrs. J. J. Miles	0	12	6				
Miss C. Swain	0	7	6				
"L. S. G."	1	5	0	Total	96	19	1
Mrs. Hartley Withers	1	1	0				

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* The contribution acknowledged last week as "Mrs. Falkner Murphy £1 5s." should have been included in the Lansbury Election Fund.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

LANSBURY ELECTION FUND

A Further Sum Required

We have pleasure in announcing to our readers that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fund for the election expenses of Mr George Lansbury now amounts to a little over £300, and that the whole of this amount has been forwarded on to him.

We have decided, however, to keep the list open for one week longer, because we learn that after taking into consideration the money which he has received from other sources, there is still a considerable sum which he will have to find out of his own pocket unless it is obtained by public subscription. The Editors are accordingly themselves contributing a second donation of ten guineas, and will be glad to receive further sums from their readers up to Wednesday next. They should be addressed to F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., and marked "Lansbury Election Fund."

Subscription List to Tuesday, Dec. 3

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	275	17	0
Mrs. Boyd......................	10	0	0
Miss Vizard	0	10	0
Mrs. Major	3	0	0
Lady Constance Lytton ...	1	0	0
Miss Winfield	0	6	0
A Unionist Woman	0	2	0
Miss Joyce Dodgson	0	1	6
Mrs. Falkner Murphy	1	5	0
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (second donation)...	10	10	0
Sarah Holden	0	3	0
Mrs. M. M. Hulme	0	2	6
"A. H. M."	0	5	0
Dr. L. Garrett Anderson...	5	5	0
Total	£308	7	0

MR. LANSBURY AND THE LABOUR PARTY

The day after the poll was declared at Bow and Bromley the Executive of the Labour Party issued a statement condemning Mr. Lansbury's action in resigning his seat and in expecting the Labour Party to vote relentlessly against the Government in the interests of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, in a letter to his constituents, published in a Leicester paper, endorses this manifesto of the Labour Party, saying, "The attack is not half so strong as the circumstances warrant," and that "though ostensibly Mr. Lansbury fought as the women's candidate, he proved his absolute incapacity to explain his position or to take up a stand on anything. He had men on his platform whom Labour Members ought not to have invited to speak for them. While he was professedly opposed to Liberalism, he left no stone unturned to get Liberal support, and accepted the help of Liberal Members."

To this attack Mr. Lansbury issued a vigorous reply, challenging Mr. MacDonald to furnish proofs of his having sought Liberal support, and saying: "Of course, I was aware that Mr. MacDonald would not regret my being out of the House, but when he says that I invited Liberal M.P.'s or, in fact, any M.P.'s, to speak for me, he knows perfectly well that he is stating what is not true. . . . Liberal M.P.'s and Unionist workers came down and helped me with the object of winning the seat as a Suffrage and independent candidate, but not one of them received a line of invitation from me, and the same is true of those Labour M.P.'s who supported me."

With regard to Mr. MacDonald's further suggestion that Mr. Lansbury wished to pose as the "martyr of a caucus," the latter proceeds to declare: "Mr. MacDonald and his executive need not worry their heads about my being a martyr. There is nothing of the martyr about me. I have stood up to them, said my say, and taken my own line ever since I was a Member. I should have continued that line had it not been that we were told, in set terms, that those who would not hang together had to get out; as I preferred to hang separately I left the other crowd to hang together."

Mr. Lansbury concludes by showing the impotence of the Labour Party to bring about reforms so long as it tamely follows the Government Whips into the Lobby.

In a statement issued later to the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P., Mr. Lansbury also recapitulates his reasons for seeking re-election at Bow and Bromley. "I decline any longer to be a party to this fool business. . . . I am out of Parliament by my own action. I shall remain out until Bow and Bromley or some other place cares to send me back unfettered and unbound to any party. I am quite certain that the party system in this country (which the Labour party is bent on imitating) is the greatest hindrance to democratic progress. My conception of Parliament is a place where every kind of opinion is fairly represented by men and women with freedom to speak and freedom to vote."

Under the title of "Intercepted Letters. From Mr. Ramsay MacDonald to Mr. George Lansbury," a poem appeared recently in the *Morning Post*, from which we quote the following verse:—

Then Farewell, Lansbury, a long farewell!
I cannot say we want you back again;
You're rather troublesome, the truth to tell,
Your independence cuts against the grain;
You know you never could your conscience quell
Nor ever could obey the party rein;
Yes, George, you're good and honest, not a doubt of it,
And for both reasons you're better out of it!

◆

QUITE SIMPLE!—ADD WOMEN TO THE "BODY OF THE ELECTORATE"

But if we are to see any effective resistance to the selective and repressive powers of the machines that stop the election of such men as Mr. Lansbury, we must look to the body of the electorate to furnish the House of Commons with at least a leaven of intractables and incorruptibles, men who "go their own way irrespective of party wishes." By so doing they will be serving the true interests of representative government.—**The Nation.**

◆

A CHANCE ENCOUNTER

A correspondent sends us the following: A member of the Men's Political Union, accompanied by a lady, on entering South Kensington Station last Monday afternoon saw Mr. Lloyd George buying a newspaper at the bookstall. He went up to the Chancellor and said, "I see you are going to disestablish the English Church. Won't you give women the vote first?" Mr. Lloyd George replied, "When they behave themselves."

Two companions who had been buying the tickets then came to the rescue, and supported the perturbed Cabinet Minister to the platform. The Suffragist followed to the top of the staircase, and in a loud voice denounced the Chancellor for being a party to the forcible feeding and other cruelties inflicted on women, adding that he ought to be thrashed. "You couldn't thrash me," replied Mr. Lloyd George, plucking up courage, and disappeared below.

A few minutes later the Suffragist again challenged the Chancellor across the metals, and invited the onlookers to "look at the British Chancellor of the Exchequer who denies justice to the women, and proclaims himself from the housetops as a great liberator and friend of the oppressed." Mr. Lloyd George, pale with anger, came to the edge of the platform, but was unable to express his thoughts except by signifying with the pointing of a finger that he would like to see the Suffragist on the railway lines.

A wordy warfare between the Suffragist and Mr. Lloyd George's companions followed, and was only cut short by the arrival of the train.

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SIR JOHN BRUNNER AT NOTTINGHAM

Miss C. A. L. Marsh writes to the *Daily Herald* to correct a misapprehension that may have arisen out of a statement made by Sir John Brunner, to the effect that holders of tickets of admission to the Liberal Federation meeting at Nottingham, from which she was ejected, were pledged not to interrupt. Miss Marsh writes: "This is incorrect. I obtained a spectator's ticket, and there was no pledge on it."

A delegate to the N.L.F. meetings also writes to the *Manchester Guardian* to point out that the pledge referred only to the public meeting addressed by the Prime Minister. This was not the one at which Miss Marsh demanded justice for women.

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THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

At a general meeting of the London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, the following resolution, moved by Dr. L. Garrett Anderson, was carried unanimously—That this meeting welcomes the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and urges its passage into law, at an early date, without weakening amendments. This meeting also records its conviction that deterrent legislation, though it may alleviate, cannot prevent the traffic and exploitation of women socially and economically, since those evils stand in close relation to their political subjection, and it believes that the legislation which would strike at the root of the social evil, of the sweating of women workers, and kindred ills is the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women.

◆

THE LLANYSTUMDWY OUTRAGE

In the House of Commons on Monday, December 2, Lord Robert Cecil asked whether it is proposed to take any further proceedings in connection with the charge against Ben Evans of having torn the clothes and hair and otherwise beaten and ill-treated Mrs. Watson at Llanystumdwy?

Mr. Ellis Griffith: The charge in question having been dismissed, my right hon. friend does not know of any proceedings which it is possible for him to take.

Lord Robert Cecil: Is there not an advisory committee in Carnarvon to advise the Lord-Lieutenant as to who should be appointed to the magisterial bench?

Mr. Ellis Griffith: Yes.

Mr. King: Does this arise?

Mr. Speaker: It only arises rather remotely. It would be better if the noble Lord will put a question on the Paper.

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Gold Satin and Ninon Evening Gown, with tunic effect over lace. Bodice trimmed to match. The dress is set off with fur and camelias of a contrasting shade. Can be made in any colour or size without extra charge. Only ... **4 Gns.**

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Smart Robespierre Jabot, with collar of black velvet and white pleated net jabot, edged fine lace. **1/11½** post free.

Warm **Coat** of **All-Wool** Blanket Cloth in pastel shades, for evening or day wear, trimmed with an inlet of Black Velvet at sides, and finished with buttons to match. The deep collar, revers, and cuffs are also trimmed black velvet (as sketch). An exceptional offer for **35/6** No extra charge for Special measures.

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WHY WRITERS WANT WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Fourteen writers, men and women, gave their reasons for being Suffragists in five-minute speeches at a reception of the Woman Writers' Suffrage League last Tuesday afternoon. Mrs. Flora Annie Steele, the new President of the League, considered the woman's point of view absolutely necessary to civilization. At present, man considered himself the hub of the universe, and if a woman succeeded in convincing him that he was not he got out of the difficulty by saying she was "exceptional."

Madame Sarah Grand said Great Britain and her Dependencies was the Englishwoman's home, and, as no man could manage a house, so men unaided by women seemed to be making a bad job of the management of this country. The Government was a "feckless" body, and was clearly in need of a good wife to assist it in the task of managing its household.

Miss Beatrice Harraden said she had applied the imagination of the writer to the question and had been unable to convince herself that the vote would degrade her or unsex her, or that she had no brains, was incapable of defending her country, or that women's interests were safe in the hands of men.

Mrs. Belloc Lowndes proudly claimed that her mother, over sixty years ago, was a signatory to a Woman Suffrage petition signed also by Florence Nightingale and Harriet Martineau; and Mrs. Zangwill simply said in twelve words: "Every reason for giving the vote to men applies equally to women."

Both Mrs. Baillie Reynolds and Mr. Pethick Lawrence gave economic reasons for the faith that was in them, and Mr. Lawrence went on to give political reasons also, winding up with a warning against trusting to amendments to the Reform Bill and against trusting to wolves in sheep's clothing such as Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Henry W. Nevinson gave twenty-five reasons—a complete Suffragist manual—which we have not space to enumerate here. One of them was particularly apposite: "Because something must be wrong when a man like Lansbury is kept out of Parliament and people like Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald rejoice at it."

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MR. JOHN MASEFIELD

We are delighted to read that Mr. John Masefield, an occasional contributor to VOTES FOR WOMEN and a good Suffragist, has won the Edmond de Polignac Prize of £100, for his poem, "The Everlasting Mercy." A better choice could not have been made by the Academic Committee of the Royal Society of Literature, for, apart from its imaginative beauty, the poem contains strong human passages that stay in one's memory when the mere beauty of it has become dimmed by lapse of time. There is, for instance, the episode of the little Quaker woman who comes fearlessly into the public house where the teller of the story, the centre of a group of wasters like himself, is not ashamed to continue blaspheming in her presence. She empties his beer upon the floor, speaks her message, and goes out again. But he is left like this:—

I did not think, I did not strive,
The deep peace burnt by me alive,
The bolted door had broken in,
I knew that I had done with sin,
I knew that Christ had given me birth
To brother all the souls on earth,
And every bird and every beast
Should share the crumbs broke at the feast.

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NEWS FROM DENMARK

We hear from our Danish correspondent that the Second Reading of the Bill for Equal Suffrage which is before Parliament will take place on December 10. We shall hope shortly to publish an article on the prospects of the Bill and the Woman's Movement generally in Denmark.

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FROM NEW ZEALAND

At a meeting of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Gisborne on Franchise Day, September 19 (the anniversary of the granting of the Franchise to the women of New Zealand), the following resolution was passed: "That the Gisborne branch of the W.C.T.U. is earnestly desirous of seeing the Franchise extended as speedily as possible to our sisters in the Homeland, and would encourage them to continue striving for this by every legitimate means in their power."

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PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The example of Mr. W. H. Triggs, editor of the Christchurch Press, in delivering an able and lucid address on this most important subject [proportional representation] before the Christchurch Women's Branch of the New Zealand Political Reform League, is to be commended. It may be taken for granted that once the women of New Zealand grasp the root idea of proportional representation they will see to it that their husbands and their sons are properly educated; and the multiplication of such addresses will furnish one of the best methods of informing the public mind.—**Otago (New Zealand) Daily Times.**

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No. 8.—Dainty Lace Handkerchiefs (as sketch). Special bargain, 8½d. each, or 6 for **4/3**

No. 9.—Pretty Embroidered Lawn Handkerchiefs, with Val Lace Border. Bargain price 10½d. each, or 6 for **5/3**

No. 10.—Dainty Embroidered Lawn Handkerchiefs, with Scalloped Border. Special value 1/0½ each, or 6 for **5/11**

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Lace 302. — Pretty Box, filled with 6 pure Linen Handkerchiefs. Price 1/6½ each.

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Lace 16. Lace 17.
Lace 16.—Ladies' Pure Linen Cambric Handkerchiefs, handsomely embroidered at each corner. Usual price 10¾d. each. Bargain Price (each) **6¾d.**
Lace 17.—Ladies' Linen Handkerchiefs, handsomely embroidered, as illustration. Usual price 1/11½d. each. Bargain Price (each) **1/0½d.**

"THE GRAND OPPORTUNITY"

A meeting of the "Joint Committee for Securing the Enfranchisement of Women on Broad and Democratic Lines" was held in the London Opera House on Wednesday, December 4.

The Joint Committee represents members of Parliament, the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, the Women's Liberal Federation, the National Women's Labour League, the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, the People's Suffrage Federation, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, and the Fabian Society.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary to the Labour Party), presided at the morning session, and divided his speech between an apology for the Government and an appeal for support for an amendment to the "Reform" Bill. After carefully pointing out that in 1910 and 1911 the Conciliation Bill received large majorities with reluctance, and that the minority of fourteen this year should not be taken as final, he proceeded to urge that responsibility rested with those "reluctant" private M.P.'s and not with the Government. A lady in the audience thereupon asked, "How will you get over Irish votes?" and merely received the vague answer that if she would wait the Labour Party would do that also. "The safety of the Government," declared the Secretary of the Labour Party, "cannot be endangered!" "Why not?" was another query to which no answer was vouchsafed. After referring to the "splendid opportunity" and stating as his opinion that the amendment would be carried, Mr. Henderson was again asked if the Labour Party would turn out the Government should his prophecy prove false. The only answer he had to give was a request to the audience to "leave her to me," and to state that at the end of the meeting he would answer questions which he thought relevant if there was time!

Sir John Simon (Solicitor-General) then moved a resolution calling on the House of Commons to enfranchise women on broad and democratic lines, and that copies should be sent to the Cabinet and Party leaders. He also considered it necessary to devote more than half his speech towards explaining and magnifying the opportunities which the Government had given to women Suffragists with a very long discourse on the "honourable" manner in which Mr. Asquith had kept and would keep to his pledges. He pointed out that whilst a majority for votes for women had been in existence in the House since 1886, no progress was made until the Government came forward (sic) and offered this "grand opportunity." After explaining at some length how Mr. Asquith had kept to his pledges, even to the extent of introducing a Franchise Reform Bill at all, he stated that the Government, as such, could not initiate, but could only grant opportunities for woman suffrage, and it was bound to be the same with a Conservative Government. His words are notable: "It is another thing to give opportunities to the House of Commons without using any pressure, direct or indirect." This was his only reference to backstairs pressure! He finished his apology with this: "That is what the Prime Minister has promised, and the Prime Minister's promise is quite good enough for any Liberal, and quite enough for any single-minded Suffragist who desires Woman Suffrage; cantankerous gossips may have their own opinion."

He then referred to militancy as the only risk to the success of the amendment, and that they repudiate and condemn it. Their appeal was to the House of Commons and not the Government, and it was plain that violence alienates devoted sympathizers and encourages bitter opponents. "Folly," he added, "is not the exclusive prerogative of men!" Then came the usual arguments in favour of Woman Suffrage and an appeal for co-operation among Suffragists.

He was frequently interrupted, and one interjection he tactfully ignored—"Why was 'male' ever inserted in the Franchise Bill?" But he confessed that it was he who had actually drafted the Bill.

In the afternoon the chair was taken by Mr. F. D. Acland, M.P. (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who urged that M.P.'s should act on their original mandates, and not listen to "outcries of prejudice" due to militant outbreaks.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party) moved a resolution calling for deputations to M.P.'s on behalf of including women in the "Reform" Bill, but instead of dealing with it, apparently considered it necessary to apologise for the Government's suffrage attitude in general, and for his own "Labour" portion of it in particular. Nearly all his speech was divided between this, a condemnation in a spiteful spirit of the militants, and praise of himself for being a wonderful asset to the cause of Votes for Women. He asked the audience to "give no credence to malicious tittle-tattle about the Government's resignation," adding that if resignations did come, they would be too insignificant to be effective.

"When will that be?" said the Bells of Stepney

"We will see," he went on, "that resignations do not affect the life of the Government. We will stand by it until Votes for Women is on the Statute Book."

On characterising the proposal that the Labour party should turn the Government out as a "proposal of childish folly," he was met with a pertinent interjection, "But you did promise to turn them out!" If that policy were adopted, Manhood Suffrage would also go, and there would merely be an Anti-Government returned instead of the present one; he was not going to waste his time throwing out one bad Government for another bad Government. He then declared with great gusto (and unconscious satire) "I am out for Votes for Women," but, unfortunately, neglected to add what he was going to do to get it, contenting himself with such phrases as "we have a free, untied house," "great opportunity," "the honour of the Prime Minister," and so on.

Militancy, he went on, had destroyed the happy prospects of the movement at the time of their commencement, and it was the only danger. When, however, one of the militants in the audience tested him by asking if he would turn the Government out, should the amendment fail, he hedged badly by saying he would not answer that until the time came, and left the meeting without a definite pronouncement of any kind.

◆

LIBERAL HOOLIGANISM

The Smithies-Taylor Case

In our issue of November 8 we gave an account of a case heard before Judge Smyly at Bow County Court on November 1, when Mr. Thomas Smithies-Taylor brought an action for assault against certain Liberal agents and officials, who by their servants or agents subjected him to great violence in ejecting him from a meeting addressed by Mr. Lloyd George at Walthamstow on June 29. He claimed £3 16s. 6d. for the loss or destruction of his hat, gold spectacles and umbrella, and £50 as special damages. After hearing the case, Judge Smyly said counsel had raised some very material questions of law, and he therefore reserved his decision.

£5 and Costs

Last Wednesday, Judge Smyly delivered judgment in the case, and found that Mr. Smithies-Taylor, the plaintiff, was lawfully present at the meeting; that the interruption was unreasonable; that the stewards were authorised by the committee to suppress the interrupters; that the plaintiff was requested to leave, and that he proceeded to do so; that some of the stewards laid hands upon him and hurried him out faster than he could be reasonably expected to go, and were therefore guilty of assault; and that the committee are liable; but that the plaintiff had, by his interruptions, to some extent brought the trouble on himself. There was no evidence that any of the stewards took part in the attempt to duck the plaintiff in the horse trough. Judgment was then delivered for the plaintiff for £5 and costs; judgment also for Mr. Pollard, one of the defendants against whom assault was not proved. Execution was stayed for twenty-one days, to be extended to a longer period should an appeal be entered.

Mr. Smithies-Taylor is to be congratulated on having won his case. He is only one of very many who have been subjected to the hysterical violence of Liberal stewards, but who have been unable to bring action afterwards owing to the difficulty of obtaining witnesses under such circumstances. A victory like his is a real gain to the Cause, of which Mr. Smithies-Taylor has shown himself to be a frank and fearless champion.

◆

THE PHYSICAL FORCE ARGUMENT

The case of the poor woman, Margaret Neilsen, who died last week as the result of injuries received while working on a wherry at Newcastle, is an answer, if one were needed, to those anti-Suffragists who say that woman's physical weakness disqualifies her for the vote. For six months this particular woman, described by her associates as "a quiet lad," worked on the Tyneside as a man, taking the place of one who had left the wherry belonging to the owner for whom she worked. That she could for that length of time conceal her physical disabilities, her womanly charm, her noble qualities of self-effacement and unselfishness, and all the other feminine attributes with which distinguished "antis" credit the women they will not trust with liberty, is sufficient proof that when it comes to the facts of life there is, or need be, very little real difference between the several capacities of men and women for hard work. Where the difference does come in is in the rate of wages, and we heartily hope that in concealing her identity as a woman Margaret Neilsen did not fail to receive the wages of a man.

Take it when you are young—you'll have a good digestion when you're old.

If the mustard pot were as long as this

there might be some excuse to omit the mustard when you dine. But mustard is always waiting within easy reach to add enjoyment to the meal. Many a woman who is getting on in years owes her good appetite and sound digestion to the practice of taking mustard in her youth.

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OUR POST BOX

THE FELLOWSHIP.

Dear Mrs. Lawrence,—I am sending my monny that I saved up for Christmas to help to get votes for woman and when I am grown up I shall help you with it. I went to the piture-house and I saw the Turk been beten. I always wear my bage on my coat when I go for a walk. Barbara and I bought a new bage the Satarday befor last. Love from Joyce.

Joyce's mother writes as follows:—I want you to understand that I had no idea that she was writing, or wished to write, until she asked if she might go down to the post when she gave me the letter, and her governess knew nothing about it at all. It was the same with Barbara; but I think that the spelling speaks for itself, so that I need not say that the composition and carrying out of their plan was done entirely alone.

I should be glad if I could be enrolled in the Votes for Women Fellowship. I cannot promise any very definite service beyond that of supporting the paper when and where I can. But I do promise to try to keep the spirit of fellowship active in my soul and to fight in whatever most practical way I can conceive for the political, social, and moral equality of men and women.—(M. Q. P.)

Will you kindly enrol me in the Votes for Women Fellowship? It is a grand thought of yours, just what is needed at the present time to bind those together who have the same object in view, yet differing in methods to obtain it. I shall do all in my power to help the Fellowship in several ways, but specially promise to patronise the advertisers as far as possible.—(A. M. S.)

May I join your Votes for Women Fellowship? I have for years now taken Votes for Women, and shall continue to do so. I also pass your paper on to two friends, and supply it to the local library of a little town far in the North. If you will accept this as a minimum of service, please put down as a member. I enclose 3s. for Poster Fund.—(C. J. M.)

I am at present scarcely able to do anything to help except keeping my poster going and distributing a few copies weekly. However, I hope to do more later on, and I think you will allow me to make one of the Fellowship, because I care so very greatly for the paper and all it stands for. Will you please add the enclosed contribution to the Poster Fund.—(A. F.)

WHITE SLAVES.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Your articles on White Slave traffic open up a much wider question. Can society regulate those forces that, left unchecked, draw women into the underworld? You show that penal legislation is ineffective, and suggest that something can be done by constructive legislation.

It is of importance that such constructive legislation if it is to help society should follow the natural growth of the thoughts and feelings of public opinion. I think there is in existence a record of the growth of public opinion in regard to the position of women and the value of woman's life which may be of help as a precedent.

If we turn to the records of the Courts which have administered divorce law, we see a marked growth both in thought and legislation. In the earlier period we find that when a man gets a divorce from his wife she disappears, God knows where, and no one seems to care. The husband soothed his feelings by damages against the third party; but the divorced wife was regarded as an outcast, and her future life of no concern to the State.

The Courts were satisfied, for they had freed the husband from his marriage tie and punished the delinquents by enforcing damages from the man and by casting the woman on the world adrift and discredited. Thus law was vindicated and public opinion satisfied.

We need not stop to consider how gradually the change came about; but to-day the attitude of the Court towards divorced women is entirely changed. The judges recognise that the woman's life, however erring, is the vital thing that needs consideration. Fortunately the law has left a wide discretion in the hands of the judges, and they have gradually used that discretion to turn the damages given to soothe an injured husband into a fund to ensure future maintenance to the divorced woman in cases where she needs it most. I am speaking broadly, for the practice is still hedged round with stringent limitations. Still, there we have an instance of the growth of public opinion—sympathising with a woman left unsupported where formerly it only passed judgment on her. Humane judges have responded to public opinion by striving to place the burden of the woman's maintenance on the man who has intervened in her life.

I suggest we should seek to extend this principle to all women. Why not put on any man who keeps or lives with a woman as with a wife the new duty of maintaining her for life or until she marries? We should then have fewer of these irregular unions, and the woman, if callously discarded, would have something to stand between her and that underworld so largely recruited from discarded lives.

If it is admitted that a woman has a right to maintenance arising out of these irregular unions, then it is important to the State that everything should be made easy for her to enforce that right before she drifts from lack of means into worse circumstances. To force her to substantiate her irregular life in open court would be to deny the more self-respecting any redress. Such cases would have to be taken privately—as affecting private rather than public interests—and a private hearing would enable a man the better to resist attempts at blackmailing.

A claim for maintenance should, I think, be based on the means of the man rather than on the minimum requirements of the woman.

I am aware that the subject is beset with difficulties, and that whilst seeking to enforce the rights of all women, one has to recognise the frequency of human error and guard against giving a degree of permanence to relationships which it may be better for all should be readily severed.

I feel the subject will only be attacked in a half-hearted manner till women become conscious of their power through the vote.—Yours, &c.,

Dec. 2, 1912. Walter Dodgson.

"ANSWER ENOUGH!"

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—My cousin and friend, of Glasgow, Scotland, where I visited last summer sends me Votes for Women. I am much interested in it, and intended to send each copy, after reading it, to friends, but I am too much ashamed of how my countrymen treat women—I was born in Manchester, England, of Scotch parents.

I've often wondered why the Suffragists in Europe broke windows. The way the men of Great Britain and Ireland treat them is answer enough.

Of course, I've regretted the window smashing, but, as I understand it, the men of England could not be convinced that women were really in earnest about wanting to be represented, unless they did something resembling what the United States of America did in 1776, which convinced the British Parliament that the thirteen colonies were in earnest. The men did quite a good deal of killing before the Mother Country was thoroughly convinced that they were determined to be represented.

Glass breaking is small in comparison. Of course it interferes with business, but through a man's pocket is sometimes the only road to his conscience or commonsense.

In a hundred years from now, our needing to work for representation will look as ridiculous to our descendants, as burning a rag in a greased saucer for a light would look to us now.

When the American Revolution was taking place, that grand English statesman, William Pitt, I think it was, is reported to have said, "If I were an American as I am an Englishman, I never would lay down my arms."

They, the Americans, were fighting for the same recognition that women are now working for. "Taxation and Representation are inseparable."

God speed the day when every child born into the world shall have an equal chance with every other, regardless of sex, race, or colour.—Yours, &c.,

Margaret King Hern.

St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The impression seems to have got about that the International Women's Franchise Club is about to raise its subscription from one guinea to two guineas. As this might deter members from joining, I should be much obliged if you will allow me to state through your columns that no alteration has been made in the subscription, which still remains at one guinea.—Thanking you in anticipation,—Yours, &c.,

Goldfinch Bate,
Hon. Treasurer.

A SEQUEL TO THE WOMEN'S MARCH

Mrs. de Fonblanque asks us to publish the following copy of a letter sent to the Prime Minister:—

Sir,—On Saturday, November 16, we delivered into your hands a Petition in reference to the enfranchisement of women, and having had your assurance that it would receive your attention, we respectfully beg to know your decision with regard to it. We feel that we are not relieved of our responsibilities of this "Petition of the People" until we are able to intimate to them your favourable reply to their expressed wishes.—I am, yours obediently,

Florence de Fonblanque,
The Organising Hon. Sec. "Women's March."
November 30.

Christmas Gifts

Messrs. GOSS invite a visit to their conveniently situated establishments, 17, BROMPTON RD. (close Knightsbridge Tube Station), and 460, OXFORD ST., where they have prepared a dainty selection of Christmas Gifts suitable alike for all tastes and purses; these can be purchased amidst pleasant surroundings, making the task of choosing almost as enjoyable as that of receiving or giving. Those unable to pay a visit will do well to send for the special Christmas Gifts price list, which contains many useful suggestions and is sent post free on request.

Three selections from price list are illustrated—

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PERFUME SPRAY
For carrying in the Muff or Bag. Perfume cannot leak.
Quite a Dainty Present.
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WOMEN AND TAXES

We have received the following communication from the Committee of the Women's Tax Resistance League:—

Tax-paying women are already receiving assessment papers and demand notes with reference to the payment of next year's taxes. The time has come for every suffragist to ask herself whether she can still contribute to the support of unrepresentative government and retain her self-respect. Women have long protested in words against a form of tyranny which exacts taxation while refusing representation, but as long as their protest is confined to words, they are consenting parties to the tyranny involved. Militant Suffragists should welcome such an opportunity of refusing allegiance to a Government which has throughout shown itself hostile to the claims of justice, and sought to stem the rising tide of revolt by the worst forms of coercion.

The refusal to pay taxes, even when the money can be recovered by distraint, is always an embarrassment to the authorities, and where a woman who earns a taxable income has no goods on which distraint can be levied, she can place the Government on the horns of a dilemma They must either forego the claim entirely, or send her to prison—still with no prospect of getting the money! The latter course they are strangely disinclined to adopt, especially after their experience in the cases of Miss Clemence Housman and Mr. Mark Wilkes. Among the women whose taxes are unpaid and who are still at large are:—[Here follows a list including married women resisters whose husbands are in the same position as Mr. Wilkes.]

Goods belonging to Mrs. Cecil Chapman will be sold at the auction rooms next to Walham Green Station to-night (December 6), at 7 p.m. All Suffragists are invited to support her, and to attend the protest meeting. Particulars of this case appeared in the *Standard* (Woman's Platform) for Friday, November 22.

On Thursday in last week, a bailiff, accompanied by a Bromley tax-collector and a policeman, forcibly entered the residence of Mrs. Kate Harvey, of the Women's Freedom League. Mrs. Harvey is a Tax Resister, and for eight months her house, Brackenhill, Highland Road, Bromley, Kent, had been in a state of seige, the doors being chained and padlocked, while numerous bills announced that she refused to pay taxes until women were politically enfranchised. After filing a chain bound round the garden gate, the three men went to the back door, forced the lock, and gained admittance. In the presence of Mrs. Harvey's secretary and servants, a distraint was levied on the dining-room furniture. Mrs. Harvey herself was absent when this action was taken.

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POLICEWOMEN AGAIN!

Last week we mentioned the petition of the San Antonio women for the right to become police-women; and a little while ago we gave some account of the appointment of Mrs. Alice Stebbins Wells, of Los Angeles, to be the first police-woman in the United States. She is now making a tour, we hear, of the Eastern American cities, studying the work that could be done by women police officers. Mrs. Wells, who was at first laughed at when she tried to gain admission to the force, persisted in her demand, showing how much a woman was needed to handle the problems of girl offenders, and especially to combat the White Slave Traffic. The newspapers took up her case at last, and she was finally sworn in as police officer. There are now three women on the Los Angeles police force.

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MISS MARY ANN DERING

We regret to announce that Miss Mary Ann Dering, a Suffragist of many years' standing, has just past away at Leicester. Miss Dering, who was ninety-four years of age, was an ardent supporter of the W.S.P.U., and although quite blind and very deaf she retained her intelligence to the last. "At any time," writes a correspondent, "she could be stirred into indignation at the present Government's treatment of women, and to interest in our cause. I had not liked to mention Woman Suffrage, fearing to offend an old lady's prejudices; when to my surprise some five years ago she asked me to contribute to her self-denial card; and when I saw her next I found her proudly wearing the purple, white and green."

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In buying their Christmas presents, we hope all our readers will remember that they will be helping the cause by dealing with the firms who advertise in Votes for Women. This week we draw attention to the advertisement on the back page, from which it will be seen that Messrs. Henry Jones, of St. Paul's Churchyard, have a large variety of pretty and useful things suitable for presents, and many more are described in heir pretty catalogue of "Novelties for Presents."

COMING EVENTS

We announced last week, by special request of the conveners, that a Social Reception in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was being arranged to take place in the Wharncliffe Rooms, Great Central Hotel, on Tuesday, December 17, at 8.45 p.m. We have now received further details of the arrangements, and a list of some of the hosts and hostesses; this includes the Lady Sybil Smith, Lady Knyvett, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Brailsford, the Rev. Hugh Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Joseph Clayton, Esq., the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Percy Dearmer, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Morgan Dockrell, Mr. and Mrs. Dodgson, Victor Duval, Esq., Miss Beatrice Harraden, Mr. and Mrs. Lansbury, Henry W. Nevinson, Esq., Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Pott, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Saul Solomon, Mr. and Mrs. Zangwill and others. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. may be had from Mrs. Brailsford, 32, Well Walk, Hampstead, and from Mrs. McLeod, 9, Thornton Avenue, Streatham Hill, S.W.

Other interesting coming events include the following:—

To-day, Friday, December 6, a reception will take place in the Balmoral Hotel, Princes Street, Edinburgh, in honour of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

To-night, in the Lecture Room of the Victoria Hall, Halifax, Mr. Pethick Lawrence will address a meeting on Woman Suffrage. On Tuesday, December 10, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Ilkeston.

Next Friday, December 13, the Fourth Birthday Party of the Actresses' Franchise League will be celebrated at the Criterion Restaurant at 3 p.m. There will be a musical and dramatic entertainment, organised by the Play Department. Among those who have already promised their services are Miss Gertie Millar, Miss Victoria Drummond, and the Langley-Mukle String Quartette. Tickets, including tea and entertainment (1s. 6d. each), may be obtained from the offices of the League, 2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C., or at the Criterion on the day.

Well-known Suffragists are included in the list of speakers at the annual meeting of the Penal Reform League next Friday, December 13, at the Caxton Hall at 8 p.m. The list includes Dr. Frances Ede, the Rev. W. F. Cobb, D.D., L. A. Atherley-Jones, Esq., K.C., M.P., and Commissioner Adelaide Cox, of the Salvation Army. Professor Sir John Macdonnell, C.B., LL.D., M.A., will be in the chair.

The Play Actors' Society, which includes many well-known Suffragists, will give, at the Court Theatre, "The Man with his Back to the East"; by D. Brandon, on Sunday evening, December 8, and for the general public on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, December 9, 10 and 12, at 2.30.

The second performance this season of the Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, will take place at the Little Theatre on December 15, at 8.15. This will consist of a triple bill of three new one-act plays, all by English authors.

BEAUTY HINTS

Superfluous Hair

Will you tell me if there is any way to permanently destroy a disfiguring growth of superfluous hair on my face and arms? I am 55 years old, and the growth is very bad. My daughter, who is 22, is similarly troubled. I have been told that depilatories are worthless, and that nothing is effective except the electric needle, which I hesitate to try, as I am told it is painful. I should be glad if you would give me your advice.—Frances B.

You are wise to avoid the electric needle. It is a dangerous operation, and, besides being painful, often leaves severe scars. I have frequently stated in these columns that it is better to endure the annoyance than to suffer the pain of the electric needle. I have also warned enquirers against depilatories, which are worse than useless, because they cause the hair to grow out thicker than before.

Recently, however, I have received some enthusiastic and reliable reports about a new method (originating in France), which has been successfully used in this country. I do not know its name, but a friend of mine, who received a complete cure by its use, told me that she would gladly furnish full particulars, without charge, to anyone who would write her.

If you will write to Katherine B. Firmin (Dept. 1,257), 133, Oxford Street, London, W., enclosing two penny stamps for reply, and mentioning my advice, she will send you, quite free of all cost, complete information, which will undoubtedly enable you to be permanently rid of all trace of the blemish.

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Wolsey is sold by Drapers and Outfitters everywhere in a variety of sizes and garments for men, women and children. Wolsey is not the lowest-priced Underwear, but a little personal experience of it will satisfy you that it is by far the cheapest in the end.
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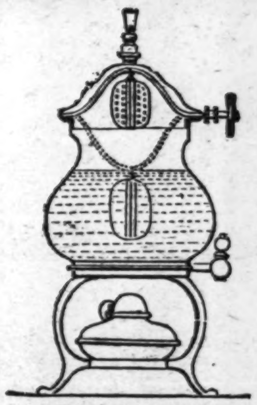

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ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BOARD RESIDENCE for STUDENTS, Visitors to London, and others; comfortable, moderate, clean; central; good cooking.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms from 25s. to 35s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key, proprietress (W.S.P.U.).

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YORK PRIVATE and RESIDENTIAL HOTEL,
DE LA WARR PARADE, opposite Sea and Kursaal.
Personal Supervision. MR. & MRS. BARTENS.

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PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

29 AND 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.—High-class boarding establishment, terms from 35s. weekly; 6s. per day; heated throughout hot water system.—Proprietress.

TWO LADIES (gardening, poultry farming) receive paying guests, permanent or otherwise; charming sunny house, every convenience; excellent cooking; lovely country; close post, station, church (daily services); terms, 25s.—Misses Leslie Carrington, Verwood, Dorset.

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CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 41, Heath Drive, Gidea Park, Romford.

HAMPSTEAD.—Flat to Let for Christmas month; few minutes from Heath and Tube; three rooms (piano), bathroom, scullery; moderate rent.—Box 262, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

STUDIO and ROOMS to Let, Furnished with or without Board; or rooms, week-end only. Whole house, very moderate, Christmas month.—Hayes, "Drift," Great Marlow.

UNFURNISHED HOUSE.—Eight large Rooms, 2 small; in thorough repair; 5min from Hammersmith Broadway; rent £42.—Box 270, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

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WANTED in Tunbridge Wells.—Lady requires bedroom and sitting-room for 3 months from middle January; £1-25s. inclusive; quiet house essential.—Box 268, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

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ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

DENTISTRY.—Mr. Smedley's Dental Surgery, Matlock House, 39, Beauchamp Place, Brompton Road, S.W., near Harrod's; artificial teeth; stoppings; tooth crowns; painless extractions; gas or cocaine.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for *101 Questions Answered*, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10A, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

LADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of Postal Tuition; writing, general knowledge, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill.

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TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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1,000 BIRDS!—Vacancy for Learner on Lovegrove's Poultry Farm; hatching (incubators) begins after Christmas; special terms for winter months.—Kate Le Lacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

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ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

BUSINESS FOR SALE. — Millinery (Court), Fittings and Goodwill, £50; stock optional; lock-up shop; inclusive rent, £60 per annum.—Box 272, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

REMOVING and WAREHOUSING.—Ask for free advice and estimate, the London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C. Telephone, Gerrard 9188. Extensive Warehouses, Dry Rooms; low rates; established 1843.

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A LADY with large Secretarial experience would like engagement as secretary; excellent references.—A. B., 101, Sutherland Avenue, W.

YOUNG LADY desires post as Secretary; competent Shorthand and Typist; moderate salary; recommended by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.—T., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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GOOD COOK-GENERAL and House-parlourmaid wanted; wages, £24, £20; small family.—8, Rodway Road, Bromley, Kent.

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GARDENING TAUGHT, including Glass House work, Intensive Vegetable, Fruit and Floriculture, Mushrooms, Bees, Poultry, and Horticultural Carpentering. Vacancy for 2 pupils. Fees, board-residence and tuition, 4 guineas per month, or 15 guineas per term of 4 months. Tuition alone, 7 guineas per term—Mr. and Mrs. W. Rayner, F.R.H.S., Horticulturists, Harmondsworth, Middlesex. 'Bus route, Hounslow to Windsor—alight Hatch Lane.

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ARTISTIC MILLINERY.—Marie Rochford, 34, Baker Street, W., makes smart and artistic hats and toques at moderate charges; comfort and lightness studied; renovations a speciality.

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A CAREFUL HAND LAUNDRESS can undertake the Laundering of a family's linen; 9 years' reference from present customer, if required.—Anna Jones, Kathleen Laundry, Palmerston Road, South Acton.

A LADY recommends good Laundress. Shirts, nightdresses, 3d.; sheets, tablecloths, 2d. and 3d.; towels, dusters, napkins, 9d. dozen; chemise and drawers, 1½d.; maids, 1s. 3d. each. Linen returned Fridays.—Manageress, 33, Osborne Road, Acton.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 494 Chiswick.

NEW UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIALS.

"Portman Square, March 14, 1912.
"The Baroness is very pleased with the way you are doing and getting up the linen."

"Kensington, October 14, 1912.
"Your work has given the greatest satisfaction."

"Eaton Terrace, S.W., September 22, 1912.
"Your laundry has always given satisfaction, and we are glad to continue to deal with it."

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Gt. Portland Street, W.

FACE MASSAGE and Hair Treatment hygienically performed by certificated masseuses; trial treatment free; booklet on application.—The Iris Co., 124, Regent Street, W.

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HAIRS and MOLES painlessly and permanently removed by Electrolysis; Ladies treated for Obesity; Swedish method. "Ladies only." General Massage. By appointment.—L. Ashurst, 41, Edgware Road, W.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

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CHRISTMAS POULTRY.—Largest and best Cock Turkeys, 8s. to 11s. each; best Hens, 7s. 6d., 6s. 6d., 5s. 6d. each; heavy fat Geese, 6s., 5s. 6d., 5s., 4s. 6d. each; roasting Fowls and Ducks, 4s. 6d. pair; trussed, post paid.—Mollie O'Donoghue, Poulterer, Rosscarbery, Cork.

CHRISTMAS.—Large Cock Turkeys, 9s. 6d., 10s., and 10s. 6d. each; smaller cock Turkeys, 8s. to 9s. each; best hen Turkeys, 6s. to 7s. each; fatted large geese, 5s. to 5s. 6d. each; trussed, post paid.—Mrs. Cullinane, Rosscarberry, Cork.

FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s., and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

HELP those who help you. Give the Fisherman a chance. Fish, just caught, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; dressed, carriage paid, by return.—Fishermen's Syndicate, 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

HOME-MADE CHRISTMAS CAKES, &c. Order now. Cakes decorated with Rough American Frosting and Holly or Mistletoe, from 3s. 6d.; with Almond Paste, from 4s. 6d. to 25s. each; Mincemeat, 1s. 4d. lb., 3lb 3s. 6d.; Plum Puddings, 1s. 4d. lb; Mince Pies, 3s. dozen; Assorted Chocolates, 3s. 6d. lb; in fancy boxes, from 2s. 9d. to 30s. each filled; carriage paid receipt P.O.—Edith Woollan, 125, Walm Lane, Cricklewood, N.W.

POULTRY and GAME BARGAINS.—

1 Woodcock, 2 Snipe, and 2 Plover	5s.
1 Woodcock and 1 Roasting Chicken	5s.
1 Pheasant and 2 Teal	5s.
1 Fat Wild Duck and 1 Grouse	5s.
2 Norfolk Pheasant	5s. 6d.
2 Partridges and 1 Fat Wild Duck	5s. 6d.
2 Grouse and 2 Teal	5s. 6d.
1 English Hare and 2 Fat Plover	5s. 6d.

Christmas Turkeys a speciality. Order early.
SHAW and SON, POULTRY SPECIALISTS,
80, MARCHMONT STREET, LONDON, W.C.

SCOTCH SHORTBREAD, finest quality, at 1s. 3d., 1s. 6d., 1s. 9d., 2s. 3d., and 2s. 6d. per cake; well packed, carriage paid; remittance with all orders.—James Strachan, High Street, Ferris, Scotland.

TOILET REQUISITES.

CULTO CULTO CULTO

For Three Penny Stamps we post you sufficient Japanese "Unrivalled" Finger Nail Polish to last two months. Please give us a trial. You will never regret it. It is hygienic and necessary for anyone who has the least pretension to good taste and cultured hands. USED BY ROYALTY. Only "CULTO" and your two hands necessary. We want every commoner to try it.—BELVOIR AND CO., 1, NEW SOUTHGATE, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A SUFFRAGIST has for disposal some large boxes of Christmas Cards, all tasselled, ribboned, or corded; post free, 1s. 6d. per box.—A. J. Parsons, Milborne Port, Som.

BONELESS CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

BLUTHNER PIANO, like new; great bargain; also Baby Grand, Antique Banjo. 2 good pier glasses; all cheap, room wanted.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped, addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

HANDSOME SHILLING BREAKFAST CLOTH! Genuine Irish Linen Cream Damask, dainty Shamrock centre design, borders to match, 42in square, postage 3d. extra. Write to-day.—Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unaccepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southport.

PEACH'S CURTAINS.—Useful Christmas Gifts. Loom Prices. Ask for Catalogue No. 271. Over 600 Illustrations. Free. Serges, Tapestries, Cretonnes, Casement Cloths, Muslins, Roller Blinds. Samples Free. Laces, Hosiery, Linens.—Saml. Peach and Sons, The Looms, Nottingham.

TO THE ARTISTIC, but not Dealers.—Lady must sell some pictures, china, and Chippendale chairs, as England has neither honour nor justice for its respectable women.—Box 274, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS.—Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall.

WEARING FURS, Ospreys, and Feathers promotes great cruelty. Send 6d. for interesting pamphlets, post free, to Miss Ansell, 37, South Hill Park, Hampstead.

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"QUI VIVE!" Held a Meeting, Blandford Market, 27th. Suffragists, Bristol and Bath, please communicate with Secretary, Mrs. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, W.

LECTURE ROOM, Victoria Hall, Halifax.—Friday, December 6, at 7.30 p.m. Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.—Public Meeting, Hampstead Town Hall, Saturday, December 7, at 8 p.m. Chair, Mr. Joseph Clayton. Speakers, Miss Abadam, Miss Kathleen FitzGerald, Mrs. Walter Roch. Admission free.

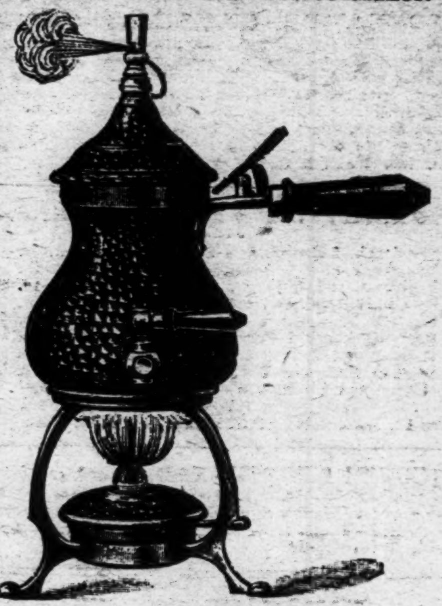
THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Wednesday, December 11, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss C. Nina Boyle. Chairman, Miss Anna Munro. Admission free.

WHARNCLIFFE ROOMS, Tuesday, December 17.—Reception in honour of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

HENRY JONES & CO., LTD.

XMAS GIFTS

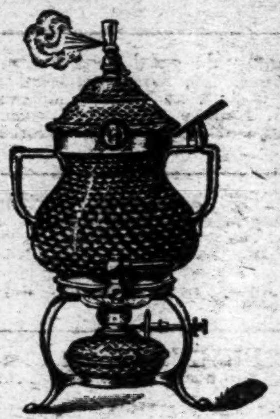
The Patent "Caffeta" Coffee Maker.



Delicious Clear Coffee in a few Moments.

	4 cups	6 cups	8 cups
Plated or Copper	15/6	21/-	25/-

The New Patent "Teaetta" Tea Maker

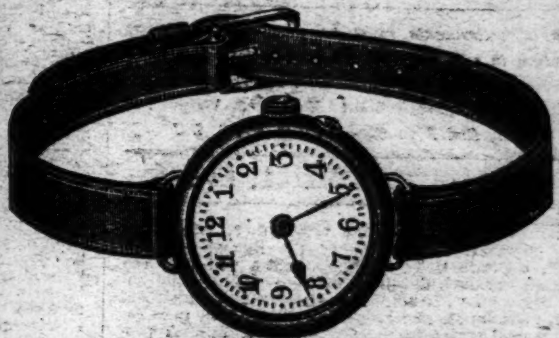


An Ideal and Useful Present.
Plated or Copper.
1 pt. 22/6 2 pt. 31/6 3 pt. 42/.
Best Quality Silver Plate.
2 pts 68/- 3 pts. 75/-

Parian Busts of Celebrities.

Height: 7in. 2/6 9¾in. 6/6 12½in 10/6

Special Price List with full list of Figures including reproductions of world-renowned statuary on application.

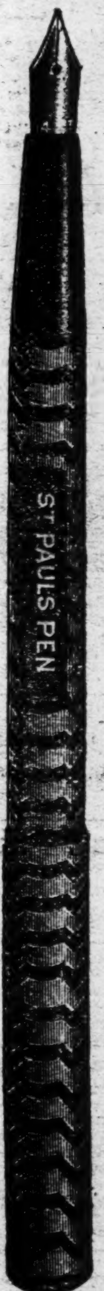


Ladies' Silver Watch in Wristlet.

6/6 complete. Cheaper Quality, Oxydised Steel, 3/11.

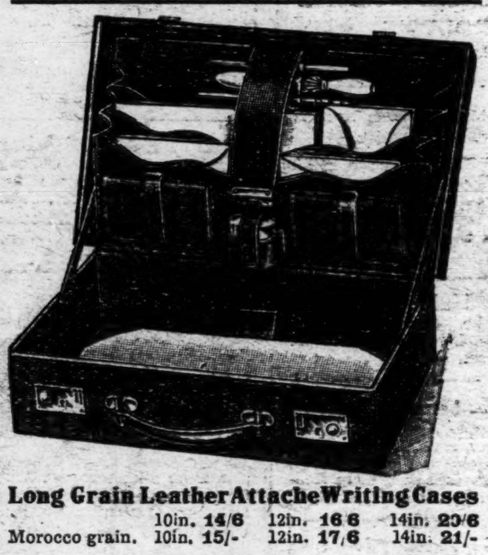
TOILET REQUISITES OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

THE ENLARGEMENT OF OUR STATIONERY DEPARTMENT ∵ IS NOW COMPLETE. ∵



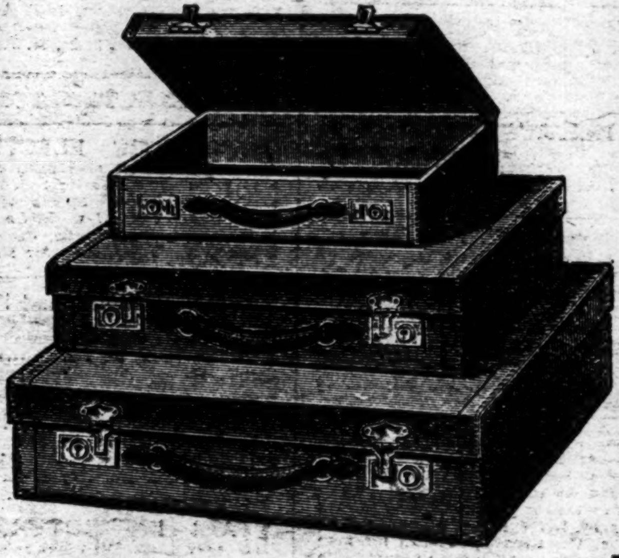
The "St. Paul's" Fountain Pen.

A very popular pen at a low price, 5/-



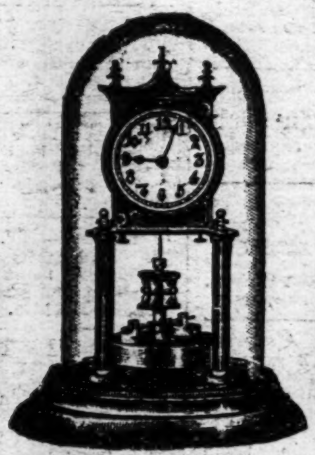
Long Grain Leather Attache Writing Cases

	10in. 14/6	12in. 16/6	14in. 20/6
Morocco grain.	10in. 15/-	12in. 17/6	14in. 21/-



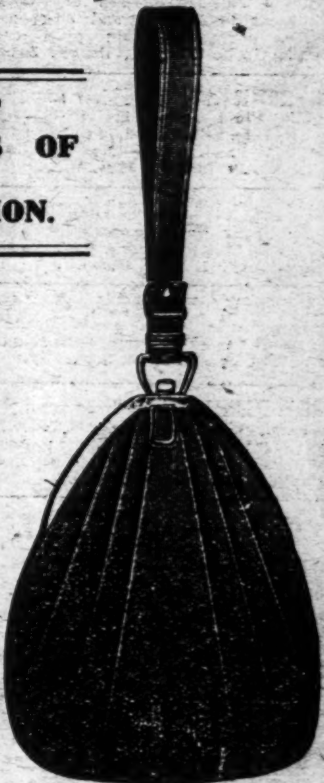
Superior Finish Solid Leather "Attache" Cases.

10in. 7/3 12in. 8/9 14in. 11/6 16in. 13/9 18in. 17/6
Better Quality, Leather Lined.
10in. 10/6 12in. 13/6 14in. 16/6 16in. 20/6



400 Day Clock.

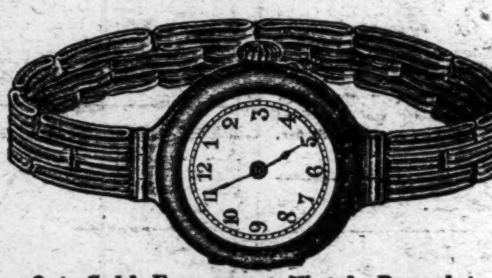
13/9 with shade complete.
11 inches high.
Better quality strongly recommended, 16/9.



The New Armlet Bag,

Powder Morocco, 17/6.

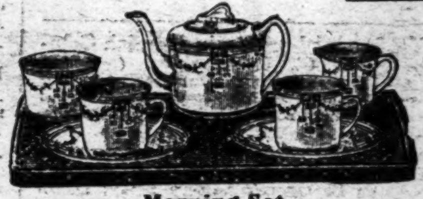
New Glass and China Showrooms Now Open



9ct. Gold Expanding Watch Bracelet.

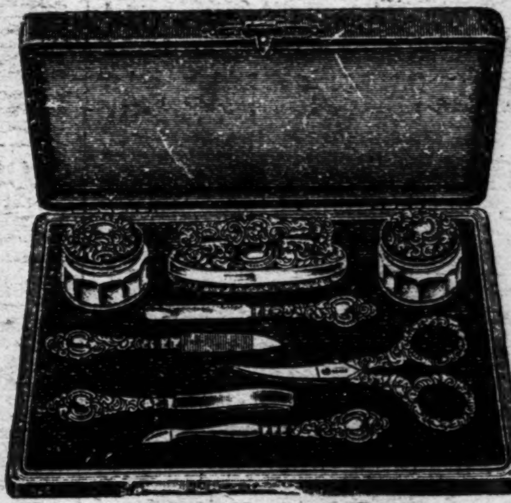
Best lever movement, £3 15s.

ENORMOUS SELECTION OF LADIES' HANDBAGS.



Morning Set.

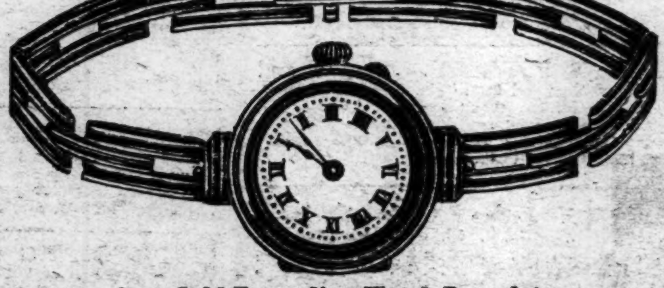
Green Decoration, on Good Quality Green Lacquered Tray, 14½ins., 6/5 complete.
Same pattern 40-piece Tea Set, 13/11



Silver Manicure Set.

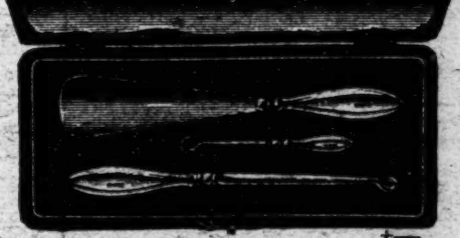
22/6. Hammered Silver same price.

CITY PRICES are the LOWEST PRICES.



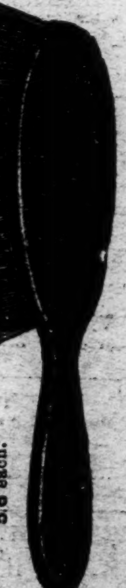
9-ct.-Gold Expanding Watch Bracelet.

Cylinder Movement, £2 7s. 6d.

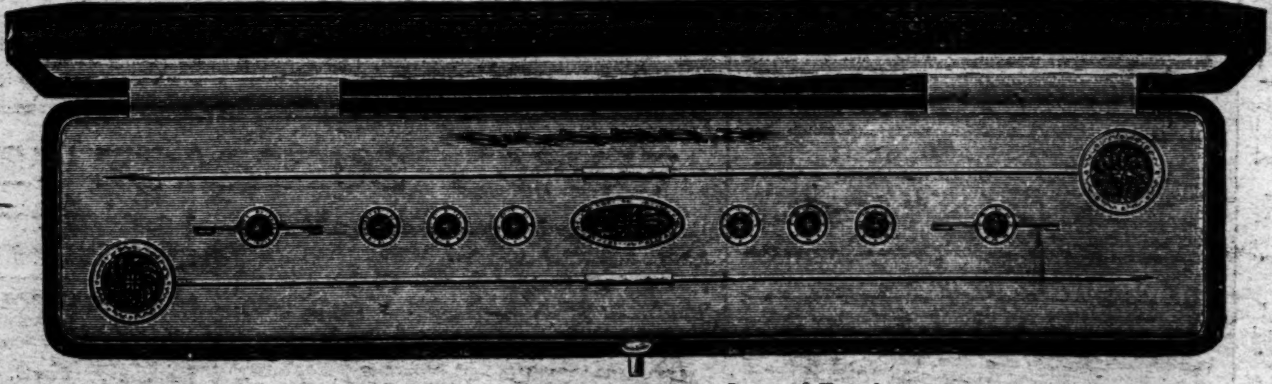


Silver Buttonhook and Shoelift.

In Case with Glovehook. 5/6. Without Glove Hook, 4/6

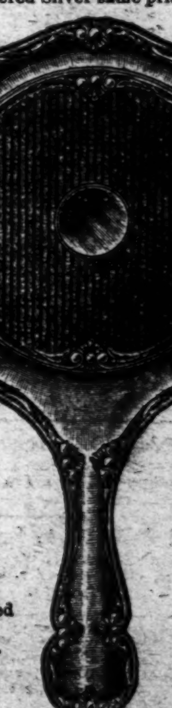


Ebony Hair Brushes,
from 3/- each.
High Cut Bristles, from 5/6 each.



Real Silver and Enamel Blouse Set and Hatpins,

in Case complete, 20/-, in Amethyst, Green, and Dark or Light Blue.



Silver Backed Mirror.

Handsome Engine Turned Design.
Length 10in.
32/6

Hair Brush.
Length 9¾in.
22/6
Hat Brush.
Length 6¾in.
11/6
Cloth Brush.
Length 6¾in.
12/6
Comb, 7/6

☛ WRITE FOR ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE. ☛

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